# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-89-051* 17 March 1989

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**Soviet INF Inspectors Arrive in Washington 16 Mar**
*LD1703092689 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] Washington March 17 TASS—A group of Soviet inspectors arrived in Washington on Thursday to check American compliance with the provisions of the Soviet-American INF treaty. On the same day a Pentagon official spokesman reported that the Soviet side has notified the U.S. of its intention to inspect American facilities in the eastern part of the country in accordance with the treaty, beginning from Friday, March 17.

As envisaged by the treaty, the Soviet inspectors will name the installations they intend to inspect and will later be taken to the sites, where they will work for 24-32 hours.

In accordance with the treaty, each side is entitled to carry out 20 short-term notification inspections per year. The Soviet Union has so far carried out 7 of these, including 6 in Europe and one in the U.S., where on February 14 Soviet inspectors checked American Air Force Factory No 19 in San Diego, California.

**CFE Delegate Interviewed on 'Vague' NATO Document**
*PM1603165589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Interview with M. Shelepin, member of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CFE talks, by Colonel V. Nazarenko: "Vienna Talks: Week One"; date, place not specified]

[Text] Vienna-Moscow—As is known, talks on conventional armed forces in Europe are taking place in Vienna. What do the approaches of the 16 NATO countries and 7 Warsaw Pact countries now embarked on the solution of the major problem of reducing conventional armaments and armed forces on the European continent have in common? What are the fundamental differences between their basic stances?

At KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's request Colonel V. Nazarenko put these questions to Soviet delegation member M. Shelepin.

[Nazarenko] Mikhail Petrovich, the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries have officially submitted program documents setting out their conceptual positions on questions of reducing forces and armaments in Europe. Do they coincide in any way?

[Shelepin] There are a number of fundamentally important coincident views in the stances of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

First, fully in line with the final document of the Vienna meeting within whose famework they prepared the mandate for the current talks, the sides give priority to the reduction of those armaments which constitute the potential for a surprise attack or for waging major offensive operations. Second, both alliances are agreed on the reduction of conventional armaments to equal ceilings, which, as established by the mandate, must be lower than the existing ones. Third, neither side wants to get involved in the so-called numbers debate: As is known, the Warsaw Pact and NATO fruitlessly engaged in that for many years at the talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and they ended unsuccessfully.

The data published by the NATO and Warsaw Pact leaderships before the start of the talks among the "23" cannot be taken as source data, because when they calculated the armaments the sides use their own classifications, giving concepts such as "battle tank," "armored combat vehicle," "tactical strike aircraft," and so on different meanings.

[Nazarenko] So the question is primarily one of the need to eliminate conceptual differences concerning categories of armaments which are to be counted?

[Shelepin] Quite correct. And then, having counted them, to give one another the information on forces and armaments. But, it seems to me, one should not immediately set about verifying the data even if there are doubts about their authenticity. The sides would be acting more reasonably if, while taking note of the partner's information, they were first to reach agreement on equal levels for the number of personnel and the categories of armaments to be reduced first—which they must have by a certain date. Only after agreed ceilings have been achieved will it be possible to start checking whether they match the actual level achieved. In this case it is not so important who has more of what; the main thing is that the sides should be equal by the agreed date.

[Nazarenko] Do the Warsaw Pact and NATO have the same views on verification issues?

[Shelepin] In principle, yes. At any rate, as far as we are concerned the verification problem does not exist. This was clearly stated by E.A. Shevardnadze in his speech at the meeting of foreign ministers of 33 European States plus the United States and Canada which preceded the start of the talks. "As far as we are concerned," he said, there should be no particular problems with this. It is known in principle how it can be done. Moreover, we already have systems in operation and proven verification and monitoring methods... We will insist on the most rigorous and strict verification, including inspection without right of refusal...."

[Nazarenko] What, in your view, are the flaws in the approach to the talks on the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces set out in the NATO program document?

[Shelepin] The Natoites are proposing identical levels only for three categories of armaments, namely: main battle tanks, artillery pieces, and armored vehicles. As I have already said, we have yet to establish what they mean by these terms. But anyway, in their view it is these systems that pose the biggest threat to stability in Europe.

No one doubts that tanks, self-propelled artillery, infantry combat vehicles, and armored transporters possess high firepower and mobility. But not to include such modern weapons as tactical strike aircraft and combat helicopters in the category of dangerous and powerful weapons from the viewpoint of a surprise attack and involvement in destroying enemy facilities and forces during operations is to aim to get the Warsaw pact, which actually has an advantage in terms of tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles, effectively to disarm unilaterally while the NATO bloc, which has an advantage in terms of strike aircraft and combat helicopters, stands aloof from the process of reducing destabilizing types of weapons.

[Nazarenko] It seems to me that it is appropriate to mention at this point what the USSR foreign minister said about this here, in Vienna: "Any surreptitious or direct attempt to retain an advantage in a particular type of armament could torpedo the talks." A serious warning, is it not?

[Shelepin] Both serious and timely. A disarmament process is inconceivable without observance of the interests of equal security for each participant. This an absolute condition. Compromises are possible and even essential, but only if they are reached on the basis of honesty and decency—essential ingredients of a dialogue.

[Nazarenko] On looking at the NATO program document, I did not find a mention of the reduction of the numerical strength of the armed forces. Emphasis was placed only on the reduction of three categories of armaments. In my view, there is no need to demonstrate that personnel are the chief component of the armed forces. It is not tanks that capture territory; it is not aircraft themselves that carry out surprise missile and bombing raids on enemy manpower and facilities, but the crews controlling the weapons and the combat equipment.

[Shelepin] I am also bewildered, to put it mildly, by their approach to what is apparently such a clear issue. True, they do make the proviso that when, for example, tanks are eliminated their crews will, naturally, be cut too. Yes, but troop formations consist not only of battle tank crews and artillery crews. In short, if one discounts their vague promise to consider in the longer term the possibility of reducing armed forces personnel, the question remains open today. We will get a clearer picture of their positions during future exchanges of opinions.

In the meantime, they have proposed limiting the maximum combined Warsaw Pact and NATO levels for the three categories of armaments to 40,000 tanks, 33,000 artillery pieces, and 56,000 armored vehicles. And no single country would be able to have more than 30 percent of the aforementioned overall ceiling for any category of armaments. Then they list the areas on the territory of the blocs in which the levels of armaments proposed by them should not be exceeded.

Certainly we still have, so to speak, to decipher the NATO intention and make a more definite judgment of it. In principle this idea is nothing new as far as we are concerned. Take, for example, our proposal on creating a strip (zone) of reduced-level armaments along the line of contact between the military-political alliances. We elaborated all these questions in detail beforehand and they are formulated in proposals by the GDR, Poland, the CSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. In short, in some cases the sides' views have things in common and in some areas there are opportunities for building bridges between positions. In the meantime, one must analyze and seek compromise solutions.

[Nazarenko] Over what period of time do they propose implementing the reductions?

[Shelepin] There is no answer to this question in the NATO document. Unlike them, we have a clear-cut program. We have divided it into three stages. One can see right away where and how each of our proposed stages ends. In this sense the NATO document is not the orderly, stage-by-stage program put forward by the Warsaw Pact countries.

Take, for example, the first stage of our program, during which, by means of the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries, it is intended to bring conventional armed forces and armaments to equal collective ceilings, which would not be merely identical but also 10-15 percent lower than the blocs' current levels. The intention is to implement the reductions during the 1991-1994 period. Then—that is, during the second stage (1994-1997)—we propose a same-percentage reduction of the sides' armed forces by approximately 25 percent (by 500,000 men on each side). Finally, the third stage (up to 2000) would see a further reduction of armed forces until they acquire a strictly defensive character.

However, the NATO program is a one-stage effort, without any indication of the implementation timeframe.

[Nazarenko] Our conceptual scheme for an accord also includes the structural transformation of the sides' armed forces, which is something you do not see in the NATO program. I do not think they attach any importance at all to this matter. What do you think?

[Shelepin] They talk about it, but in a somewhat vague way. On literally the last page of their document it is pointed out that at some time in the future they would be prepared to reconsider the question of reorganizing armed forces in order to strengthen their defensive capabilities and further reduce their offensive potential. An extremely nebulous prospect. The way I understand it is that restructuring of troop formations in order to make them defensive is not envisaged in the course of their proposed reductions. This causes us to ask questions and to be concerned.

[Nazarenko] So, proposals have been submitted and the exchange of positions, not accusations—as has often happened in the past—has taken place. The sides have right away embarked on a detailed exposition of their approaches. What can we expect in the future?

[Shelepin] The talks will be difficult and complex. Intensive work has to be done. But if the sides stick close to the topic of discussion within the framework of the mandate, energetically, without delaying and without pausing, the initial agreement could be reached in a relatively short time.

**TASS Reports on 'Friendship-89' Maneuvers**
*LD1503135789 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Text] Berlin March 15 TASS—On Wednesday [15 March] the group of Soviet troops in Germany, the Polish Army and the National People's Army of the GDR began their joint exercise "Friendship-89" in the GDR in the area of the villages of Gardelegen, Haldensleben, Jessen, Dahme, Baruth and Tangermuende. The exercise involves some 16,500 troops. Its aim is to improve field training of troops.

**Pact Group Discusses International Economic Order**
*LD1503175489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1152 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Mar (TASS)—A meeting of the working group of experts from the Warsaw Pact members states on the problems of overcoming underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order was held on 14-15 March in Bucharest. Topical matters of mutual interst in this subject area were discussed.

**CEMA Creating Economic Institute Association**
*LD1603193989 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—An international association of specialized schools for economy and commerce is to be organised, under a decision by a conference of economic education officials from socialist ocuntries here.

The meeting, which ended on Thursday, was attended by the heads of economic colleges in Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The main objective of the association is to combine university scientists' efforts to elaborate a common concept for socialist economic development.

"Scientists in socialist countries' academic institutes have long formed contacts to conduct joint studies but specialized education has remained outside of this domain", Professor Vladidmir Groshev told TASS.

"At the same time such institutes in socialist countries have set up national associations and have specific programmes for action", he continued, citing the example of the Soviet Union where an association of higher economic institues unites 60 economic institutes.

"There is also another remarkable example of international cooperation: the European University established by the EEC countries in 1976".

The conference determined the main areas of joint scientific research, including efforts to work out proposals and recommendations for enhancing the efficiency of economic integration of cmea member countries and to study the outlook for cooperation between the CMEA and EEC. The results of the confernce will be submitted to the CMEA secretariat.

## USSR Supports South Atlantic Peace Zone

*LD1603170789 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—A diplomatic TASS correspondent reports:

According to the Soviet diplomatic circles "The Days of the Peaceful Zone in the Southern Atlantica" which are held on appeal of the World Peace Council from 17 to 19 March should create the climate of security, confidence and good-neighbur relations in this region.

The idea of converting the Southern Atlantica into the zone of peace and cooperation belongs to different countries of the region: by the offer of Brazil a corresponding resolution was adopted by the 41-st session of the U.N. General Assembly. It said there was a need to unite the efforts of all the countries to keep the region free from nuclear weapons, tension and rivalry.

The Soviet Union declares that under the conditions of growing interdependence and interconnections of the modern world there is not and cannot be an alternative to the policy of cooperation and interaction. The realisation of the idea of creating a zone of peace and cooperation in the Southern Atlantica would be a solid contribution to the regional and universal security, an important step on the road of new political thinking in the international relations.

As the diplomatic TASS correspondent was informed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the USSR the Soviet Union is ready to discuss with the U.S. and other great military-naval powers all the issues concerning the measures of reduction of military presence in the Southern Atlantica, non-deployment of nuclear and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction.

## * UN Human Rights Commission Session Assessed

*18070555 Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Mar 89 p 3*

[Article by V. Boykov in Geneva: "Constructive Dialogue is Possible"]

[Text] The 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission ended in the Geneva Palace of Nations today. It has done a good deal of work in a month and a half. Several dozen resolutions were discussed and adopted. They condemned the dictators and racists, aggressors and mercenaries, hangmen and all those who in one way or another encroach upon or flout human dignity. The resolutions were also intended to contribute to the strengthening and improvement of legal protection for man and to determine the criteria for the approach of the world community to these problems. An important step in this direction was the Convention on the Rights of Children that was developed and approved by the session. A fairly broad program of action is earmarked for the future. But it is not only a matter of quantitative indicators. It is important that the rudiments of qualitatively new approaches appeared in the work of the UN Commission.

Speaking on 7 December of last year at the UN General Assembly, M. S. Gorbachev said: "Today we have entered an age in which common human interest will be based on progress. A recognition of this requires also that world policy be determined by the priority of human values." The UN Human Rights Commission is called upon to make an appreciable contribution to this process. This was discussed by many participants in the session that just ended, including its chairman M. (Bossyui) (Belgium).

Referring to the universal declaration of human rights and speaking of international pacts in this area, whether we like it or not we recognize—the speakers noted—that there are human values and there are common foundations that are more essential than all the differences taken together, and there are documents that are fundamental for both the West and the East, the North and the South, that join countries and nations together into a world community.

At past sessions of the commission a good deal has also been said about the importance of human values and the need to respect human rights completely. But the atmosphere of confrontation that has prevailed here has significantly impeded progress in this area. The commission, like other UN legal protection agencies, has frequently played the role of a screen on which the ideological staffs have projected there own propagandistic themes. This time the picture is somewhat different.

As distinct from the style and tone of past years, the speeches at this session contained less propaganda and more constructive ideas and proposals. One could see progress in the direction of compromise and joint search for resolutions to many concrete issues. Previously, for example, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries focused on socioeconomic rights while in the West they focused on civil and political rights. That is, it turned out that in response to "their" reproaches about encroachment, say, on the rights of believers or people who think differently, we advanced counter-accusations of mass unemployment or violation of the rights of Indians. As a result, we ended up in a blind alley. The confrontation made it impossible to find a common denominator for improving the situation in the area of human rights. Now it has begun to appear.

The Soviet Union intends to meet all the commitments we made when we joined the corresponding international pacts. "For the Soviets the entire spectrum of human rights is equally significant—civil, political, economic, social, and cultural"—declared the head of our delegation at the session, F. I. Stanevskiy. From the experience of certain foreign countries we know, the Soviet representative noted, to what extent civil and political rights can be gutted, to what extent man's

position can be harmed if he is poorly protected economically. For our experience we also know something else: when the civil and political spheres of human activity are artificially narrowed, both man and the economy and the social life of the society suffer.

In response, the Western countries also clearly stated the need to observe not only civil and political rights, but also socioeconomic ones. For example, this was noted in the speech on behalf of the EEC countries by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Fernandez-Ordonez. Secretary of State of Vatican City A. Casaroli spoke of collective rights. Previously representatives of the West spoke only of individual rights.

There have been other positive strides as well. A more businesslike and constructive dialog was undertaken between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Arab countries, on the one hand, and the Western countries that have traditionally supported Israel, on the other. In particular, it has led to a point where certain allies of Tel Aviv voted on a resolution concerning violations of human rights in Israeli occupied territories.

At this session the desire to understand one another and support positive changes began to be manifested considerably more frequently. Thus may delegates and foreign affairs ministers of the West have welcomed the Soviet perestroyka, democratization, and the changes that are taking place in the area of human rights. Nor has the constructive flexibility of the Soviet delegation gone unnoticed at the current session. Here is just one example. When discussing the draft of the second optional protocol concerning abolition of the death penalty, representatives of the USSR announced that they consider this an important step in the creation of a collection of international documents insuring human rights. They noted that the idea of complete abolition of the death penalty has support from legal experts. But, as in many other countries, public opinion is against such a step. Those who think differently are still in the minority. At the same time, as the current discussion of the draft of the Fundamentals of Soviet Criminal Legislation shows, the number of crimes that are punishable by the death penalty will be significantly reduced.

The Soviet Union, our representatives announced, will contribute to the development and adoption of an optional protocol concerning abolition of the death penalty. At the same time they expressed the hope that this document would serve as an additional impetus for changing public opinion in those countries, including the USSR, where it is persistently against such a step. Then we too can join the protocol.

When discussing the question of human rights under conditions of detention or imprisonment, the Soviet representative declared the need for elimination of torture everywhere, which, unfortunately, is not just something from the Middle Ages. The delegate from Great Britain who spoke next emphasized that he fully shares the Soviet views on this problem. Previously people have preferred to refrain from public statements of a unanimity of opinions.

But the innovations of the current session do not end here. In his December speech in New York M. S. Gorbachev announced the intention of the USSR to expand its participation in the control mechanisms of the UN system in the area of human rights. One of these influential agencies for control and verification is the mechanism of special reporters of the UN Commission, which has been given instructions to study the situation with respect to human rights in some specific area or some specific country. Up to this point this complicated and delicate mechanism has far from always operated objectively and it has been extremely selective. Therefore the USSR and a number of other countries have not participated in its work. Now we have resolved to take a different approach to it. The need for verification of the observance of human rights, like monitoring disarmament, is questioned by few people today. It is possible to make this agency more constructive only by enlisting in its work. Having taken these positions, the Soviet Union participated actively in the development of draft of a resolution concerning the special reporters and became one of the co-authors.

When speaking of the resolutions of the current session one cannot but note this detail. Previously there was practically no co-authorship between East and West: we submitted our plants and they submitted theirs. At this session a number of Western countries joined in on our resolutions and the USSR and its allies became participants in certain Western plans.

Among the Western "premiers" one should note the French draft of a resolution in which extreme poverty is classified as a violation of human rights. By offering this document for the consideration of the session, Paris demonstrated that the new thinking is not alien to the West either. For the subject raised in it is in the socioeconomic category, that is, one that is traditionally "alien." The Soviet Union and other socialist countries subscribed to the French draft.

All this, of course, does not mean that there have been no cloudy skies in Geneva during the past 6 weeks, in either the literal or the figurative sense. During the last days the more regular proponents of confrontation made their presence known, making it understood that they do not yet intend to revise their positions. This was shown in particular by the discussion of the report from a special group of the commission which visited Cuba last fall.

In the discussion that followed, unfortunately, there were remnants of confrontation thinking. Certain political opponents of Havana made a number of clearly unjustified accusations against them. Cuba, like any other country, of course, has things that need work and

things to improve in the area of human rights. But the report submitted by the special group noted no cases of gross and mass violations of human rights in Cuba.

And so, despite certain "failures" and collisions, the 6 weeks of the commission's work demonstrated the possibility of building bridges of mutual understanding. They showed that even in such a delicate sphere as human rights constructive dialogue is possible.

**Neutral Countries Undergo Bout of 'Spy Mania'**
*PM1503133189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 p 3*

[V. Antonov article under the "Well, Well!" rubric: " 'Russian?—That Means A Spy!'"]

[Text] There is no such thing as dirty money, so they say. Only that does not apply to "drug money"—the money which the Mafia gets from the sale of narcotics. If you trace the movement of capital through bank books, receipts, and accounts you can get to the criminals. It is said that the greatest success here has been achieved by U.S. detectives, who have developed the very latest methods of exposing the big-time drugs business.

But the criminal world is resourceful. Its leaders have become adept at "laundering" drug money and covering their tracks. The largest of these "laundries" is Switzerland or, more accurately, its banking system. The rules that exist there enable people to take money into and out of the country in any amounts without filling in a declaration or going through customs control. Criminals also take advantage of that. It is claimed that some Swiss financial institutions are intermediaries between big banks and the international mafia.

In November 1987, a group of workers from the Swiss Justice and Police Department headed by department chief Elisabeth Kopp visited the United States—to "exchange experience." Elisabeth's husband Hans, a lawyer, went with the group in a private capacity. As it transpired later, his interest in the American "seminar" was purely practical: Hans Kopp was involved in the affairs of the firm Shakarchi [name as transliterated] Trading AG, a launderer of money from narcotics.

Having gained all the latest information on the Americans' success in the struggle against drug trafficking, Hans Kopp immediately got rid of the accounts and documents which could provide evidence against him and Shakarchi Trading. He covered his tracks using the very latest scientific means. Nevertheless, information on the Kopp family's involvement in the laundering of money filtered into the press.

Then, according to the rules of the classic detective novel, the chief of the Justice and Police Department decided to set the detectives off on a false trail. That was how the case of parliamentary deputy Massimo Pini came about.

Despite Pini's array of impressive titles and parliamentary privilege, an investigation was launched against the man who is vice president of the Swiss Social Democratic Party, a national councillor, and president of the coordinating commission on the representation of Switzerland abroad. The reason—"contacts with the Soviets." Back in 1987, Pini visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. The following year he visited the Soviet embassy in Switzerland on the occasion of the creation of a Swiss-Soviet chamber of commerce. And Pini is generally one of those people with access to business and politics and who could consequently be a spy!

That was enough for the police to begin spying on him, eavesdropping, and then simply to take him and brainwash him: In a heart-to-heart conversation they suggested to Massimo Pini that he shouldn't associate with "representatives of the Warsaw Pact."

The prosecutor's office made matters worse by claiming in a press release that Soviet diplomats want to talk not with small fry but with "important people," presumably in order to ensnare them. It was also reported that every year a full 1,000 of these potentially unreliable Swiss are unearthed and "worked on." In this way a serious bout of spy mania began, aimed at diverting attention from the scandal in the Justice and Police Department.

The indignant Massimo Pini sent his complaints to the Swiss Government authorities and also to the Pope and the UN Secretary General. "As an elected representative of the people, I do not need to be monitored or preached at by policemen," he stated at a press conference. He was supported by other parliamentarians.

Meanwhile, in the "espionage" skirmish Elisabeth Kopp quietly resigned and the "drugs money" case slipped into the background.

It must be noted that Switzerland is not the only country where attention is diverted from drug dealings by "hunting for Russian spies." For example, this activity thrives in Sweden, where people back away in horror at "Sovtransavto" vehicles entering the country. All the drivers of these trucks are spies, the reports claim. "Exposures" are demanded from the police, who do their best to oblige. The newspaper EXPRESSEN, for example, printed a statement from one of the police agents who constantly tracks Soviet vehicles and who has checked more than 200 trucks but, of course, has found nothing.

The form of these checks is well known. A "Sovtransavto" truck en route from Stockholm to Norway was stopped on highway E18. It was thoroughly checked for 5 hours. The drivers were forced to face the vehicle when they were searched and even made to take off their shoes.

The drivers of another truck who had spent the night in a stopping place alongside the E4 freeway were woken up several times, searched, and filmed on video. And not once was anything found.

As the facts show, identical means and methods are used in the spy mania campaigns on the territory of countries very far from each other. Secret service staffers persecute and intimidate politicians and businessmen who establish professional contacts with Soviet representatives. In this way talks on joint projects and ventures and new forms of cooperation are interrupted and the very idea of building the common European home is undermined. All this is a breach of the Helsinki accords and harms cooperation in Europe.

**Amateurs Receiving Worldnet TV, Other Signals**
*PM1503155789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 7*

[Vl. Arsenyev article: "Era of World TV: With Us or Without Us?"]

[Text] I am convinced it will be with us.

But not soon.

Meanwhile, certain handymen have erected ingenious devices enabling them to view the U.S. Worldnet TV channel beamed to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and the consulate in Leningrad. They use this to amaze their neighbors and friends, who are impressed by the fact that they are watching America. And although they may not know any English, it is easy for them to understand that they are watching something different, bewitching in its colors, pace, and bite. It is as if their world has opened up. And it transpires that this new world does not just have Nikolayev, Molchanov, and the trio from the "Vzglyad" program—not the best anchormen in the world by a long shot: It can also, apparently, do without shots of tractors and trailers wending their way over the horizon.

But what about those who do understand English? For them the TV becomes like a magic window on the world. They can choose between "Vremya" or the Worldnet news.

Incidentally, it is not just homespun inventors who have been turning the magic into reality. Go into any office—not necessarily a manager's office—at Ostankino [Soviet Central TV Headquarters], for instance, and you can also hear English being spoken and see TV pictures that could hardly be mistaken for a Central TV program. People at Ostankino freely watch CNN (we discussed this company in IZVESTIYA No 63 last week). They say that it is educational to see how the programs are put together and other features that are important to creative workers. When I hear this I readily believe it, because I know that our TV has for a number of years borrowed from useful aspects of Western programs. "Good Evening Moscow" is by no means an original title, as any American who watches the 2-hour "Good Morning America" program (or as we would call it, video channel) every morning will tell you. And "120 Minutes" is very reminiscent of the CBS program "60 Minutes."

This tendency is, of course, nothing to worry about. Nobody in our country watches ABC or CBS programs. But what about when they do start watching them? Then, obviously, Central TV's creative workers will have to be more inventive. They will have to be able to work in a competitive environment, if only to avoid being considered second-class professionals.

In the recently published book "World Television" ["Vsemirnoye televideniye"] ("Ganatleba" Publishing House, Tbilisi)—almost an encyclopedic overview of TV companies worldwide and the state of affairs with regard to television in the world—Doctor of Historical Sciences Georgiy Vachnadze quotes Alvin Snayder [surname as transliterated], chief of the USIA TV Service. In an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES last year, he said: "I'm sure that 5-10 years from now the Russians will be able to receive U.S. TV programs direct by satellite as a counterweight to the current system, which requires satellite signals to be received and retransmitted by a local ground station."

Admittedly, other U.S. specialists are highly pessimistic about the prospects for direct TV broadcasting to the USSR. They think this would be a clear step toward an all-out invasion of the airwaves which would be fraught with international complications.

Just 2 or 3 years ago we, too, were saying that if the Americans intended to do this there would be a serious conflict. Times are changing. I recently took part in "business games" held by Central TV in its "Sofrino" creative center in Moscow, and saw for myself that our involvement in the world TV system is by no means seen as something terrible or harmful. Central TV creative workers at various levels agreed that TV sets will one day become like radios—full of voices from different lands. But, they said, we are technically a very long way behind TV companies in the developed countries. Our material and technical base is weak. Not everyone in the country can receive even the first all-union channel. Far fewer can receive Channel 2. For instance, the idea was once mooted of setting up a special "interethnic relations" channel—that is, a channel which would offer viewers the best programs made by republican television and radio committees. Nothing came of it. For the same reason. So how can we now talk about some kind of legal basis for whether Americans are allowed to broadcast to Soviet viewers or not? When things reach that stage....

Nonetheless, nobody said that things will never reach that stage. In the next few years the material and technical base of our television system may simply be unable to cope, even if it very much wants to cope, with the reception and transmission of Western programs on

ordinary TV's. But over in the West they have a different infrastructure and different capabilities. And they are not marking time. When direct broadcast satellites become more powerful it may well be the case that neither ingenious home-made antennas nor even parabolic dishes will be needed. You will just switch on the TV—and there it is....

But the main issue is not even that everyone will rush to watch America and forget about our TV. They will not. Who can cover our way of life better than we? Who is better at covering events in Kostroma or Nizhniy Tagil? The whole question is whether our TV has stopped being up-to-date and clearly aware of just what viewers do and do not need and like. If it is not behind the times, then we can state with confidence that we will be direct and equal participants in the world television era.

Moscow watching America. American watching Moscow. Is not that the way things should be in the civilized world at the end of the second millennium?

### Reader Requests Information on Nobel Laureates

*PM1603170789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Letters... Not For Publication": "I Would Like to Find Out About the Nobel Prize Winners"]

[Text] In IZVESTIYA No 45 in the note "Named For Mikhoels," the name of Nobel prize winner E. Wiesel is also mentioned among the guests who attended a ceremony to open a cultural center. As I recall, this refers to the American writer Elie Wiesel. But the names of many Nobel Peace Prize winners mean virtually nothing to most readers. Now is a time for revealing forgotten names. Let us also recall these people. At the very least it seems odd that in the numerous articles on the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights there was not a single mention of the person who composed it—after all, it is no secret that its main author was also a Nobel Peace Prize winner.

I suggest that we should be told about people whose peacemaking activity or literary creativity was awarded the Nobel Prize. For example, the biographies of Elie Wiesel, Czeslaw Milosz, Lech Walesa, and other Nobel prize winners who are not well known, it seems to me, to a wide circle of readers. Especially as there is no detailed information about them even in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia and other publications. I think that successful individuals, who have enriched world culture and science and who have done a lot to further people's understanding of each other throughout the world, should be known to all.

[Signed] S. Karagedov. Baku.

### Comparison of Report on Global Politics Session

*PM1503161089*

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 15 March in its Second Edition publishes on page 2 a TASS report headed "Session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on International Policy Questions." The PRAVDA version has been compared to the Moscow TASS English version published in the 15 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 8, revealing the following variation:

page 9, column one, last paragraph in PRAVDA version reads:

"...and international relations. The following spoke at the session: A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister; A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; M.A. Moiseyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; Ye.M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations; G.V. Kireyev, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Socialist Countries of Asia Administration; L.V. Shebarshin, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; S.F. Akhromeyev, adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.A. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States of America and Canada; V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; G.I. Revenko, first secretary of Kiev Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom; P.K. Luchinskiy, second secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee; G.V. Novozhilov, general designer at the Moscow S.V. Ilyushin Machine Building Plant; N.I. Kozyrev, USSR Foreign Ministry special ambassador; and R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee." (supplying list of speakers)

## United States & Canada

### Pentagon Announces Trident Test Launch

*LD1703094589 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] Washington March 17 TASS—A spokesman for the U.S. Department of Defense stated at a briefing here on Thursday that late this month the U.S. Navy intended to launch the most up-to-date sea-based intercontinental ballistic missile Trident-2 of the D-5 modification for the purpose of checking its flight and exploitation characteristics. The missiles will be launched off a nuclear-powered submarine of the Tennessee class, which is now in a submerged state off the Florida coast near Cape Canaveral.

### Senate Hears Cheney Restate 'Hawkish Orthodoxy'

*PM1603145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7*

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "There Were No Surprises. On the New Candidate For the Post of U.S. Defense Secretary"]

[Text] Washington, 15 Mar—In an attempt to quickly heal the wounds of interparty strife, the Senate Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress has embarked promptly on examining the candidacy of D. Cheney, whom President Bush has nominated for the post of defense secretary.

The refusal of the full Senate to ratify the president's first nominee for the Pentagon, former senator J. Tower, ended several weeks of scandalous revelations of the morals prevailing here and blatant wrangling between Democrats and Republicans, and dealt a quite perceptible blow to the political prestige of the new White House incumbent.

The beginning of the second round of Bush's attempts to fill the still-empty post of Pentagon chief today presented a marked contrast. There was laughter and applause and no strained nerves or aggrieved people. Everything just indicated people's sense of relief and delight at the White House choice. Against the backdrop of the recent negative emotions, the candidacy of Cheney, a Congressman from Wyoming and deputy leader of the Republican minority in the House of Representatives, was clearly well-suited. The committee members reacted calmly to testimony that the 48-year-old has already suffered three heart attacks and undergone heart surgery. What would appear to be the most important thing, his lack of experience of military policy, which could quite understandably have "barred the way" to the Pentagon to anyone else, did not even bother them.

In the course of the 3-hour hearings, Cheney never deviated from what one observer described as "hawkish orthodoxy." The legislators were presented in effect with a whole "set" of positions that looked as if they had been compiled in the headquarters of the military-industrial complex. Inexperience is inexperience, but it by no means prevented Cheney from fully supporting the development and deployment of SDI and speaking in favor of the multiwarhead MX ICBM's, the single-shot "Midgetman," and programs for the modernization of NATO's nuclear weapons.

There were no surprises. If there are none in the FBI's report on the results of its hasty investigation of Cheney's life, as committee chairman S. Nunn indicated, his candidacy could feasibly be ratified by the entire Senate at the end of this week.

### UN Actions 'Cover' U.S. Pacific Annexation Plans

*LD1703001689 Moscow TASS in English 2313 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] New York March 17 TASS—A special session of the UN Trusteeship Council was convened at the United States request in the United Nations Headquarters on Thursday. The United States needed the session in order to send, when there is an opportunity, an observer mission to Palau to monitor the present conditions. Relying on the Western majority in the Trusteeship Council, in which the U.S.A., Britain, France, as well as the USSR participate, Washington hopes to use the mission in order to cover up by the United Nations authority the annexationist policies conducted vis-a-vis the Pacific islands trust territory (Micronesia) where nuclear and other weapons are being imposed.

In this connection USSR representative Dmitriy Bykov pointed at Thursday's session to the hasty way of convening the session, without taking into consideration the opinions of all the members of the council and without any consultations.

He called for a thorough and substantive consideration of the situation in Micronesia, for a dialogue on this matter aggravated by encrustations of many years, for a joint quest of concerted decisions. The problem of Micronesia is a problem of decolonisation, and the Micronesian people's inalienable right to genuine self-determination and independence should be ensured.

The trusteeship council is expected to adopt a decision on Friday on a draft resolution submitted by Great Britain under which, in accordance with Washington's request, it will sanction sending an observer mission to Palau. The mission will specifically be instructed to monitor measures for the implementation of a "compact of free association" with the U.S.A., which is actually a cover for Palau's annexation by Washington.

### Soviet, U.S. Scientists Discuss Peace Prospects

*LD1603191789 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Debates between Soviet and American scientists can help overcome obstacles existing in a dialogue between the two countries.

This was said at a seminar of political scientists of the USSR and the U.S.A. that opened here on Thursday. The seminar has been sponsored by the Novosti Press Agency (USSR) and the Centre for the Studies of Strategic Problems of War and Peace at New York University (U.S.A.)

Steven Cohen, professor of Princeton University, noted that there exist reserves for improving relations between the two countries. He said that despite the obvious easing of tension in East-West, specifically, USSR-U.S., relations, military and political structures and psychological stereotypes of the times of the cold war continue to operate.

Political leaders on both sides should concentrate the attention on shaping political mechanisms of fundamentally new type that would be in keeping with new realities of international affairs.

Jerry Hough, director of the East-West Trade, Capital Investments Communications Centre of Duke University, set out his views on the problem of the construction of a common European home. He said this goal can be achieved through East-West economic interrelationship.

The Soviet participants to the seminar pointed to the need for further progress at the negotiations on nuclear and space arms, reduction of forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and emphasized the importance of joint actions of the USSR and the U.S.A. in settling regional conflicts.

"The great powers have now been offered a unique opportunity to make the decisive joint contribution to resolving a long drawn-out conflict in the Middle-East", said Genrikh Trofimenko, deputy director of the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. "Interaction in this question might set a pattern for further cooperation to resolve problems of the Third World", he said.

## Northeast Asia

### DPRK Military Attache Criticizes 'Team Spirit'

#### 'Team Spirit' 'Offensive'

*PM1603143389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[V. Ganshin report: "News Conference at DPRK Embassy"]

[Text] At a news conference held at the DPRK Embassy in Moscow 14 March, Kim Hak-san, the embassy's military attache, briefed journalists on the situation in the south of the Korean peninsula in connection with the continuing U.S.-South Korean Team Spirit-89 maneuvers.

The United States, Kim Hak-san declared, is trying to convince public opinion that the duration of the present exercises has been considerably reduced and that they are of a "purely defensive nature." However, such assurances are groundless and designed only to camouflage the true state of affairs. In fact—and this was announced in Seoul—the maneuvers began back at the end of January with the transfer and deployment in the south of the peninsula of mobile units of the U.S. Armed Forces and arms from U.S. bases. The second main stage of the exercises—the rehearsal of offensive operations involving airborne subunits and aircraft, including nuclear-capable aircraft—began 14 March. The scale of the present maneuvers (more than 200,000 U.S. and South Korean servicemen have been mobilized for them), the specific nature of the set tasks, and also the characteristics of the means of conducting combat operations leave no doubt as to the true aims of Team Spirit-89.

Answering a question about Seoul's proposal for DPRK observers to be sent for the duration of the maneuvers, Kim Hak-san emphasized that such an invitation is totally unacceptable and, what is more, insulting, since these maneuvers are of a purely hostile and aggressive nature with regard to the DPRK.

#### 'Team Spirit' Adds to 'Distrust'

*LD1603164689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] A news conference has been held in Moscow in the DPRK Embassy. The military, naval, and air force attache at the embassy, Major General Kim Hak-san, told journalists that the U.S. South Korean 'Team Spirit 89' exercises, which are taking place in South Korea, will lead to a complication of the situation on the Korean peninsula and will add a further element of distrust between the DPRK and South Korea. He noted that these exercises are especially intolerable because they throw down a challenge to the unwavering efforts of the DPRK to secure peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification. Now it is important to do everything to end the military provocation in the south of Korea and secure the stability of the situation on the Korean peninsula. [video shows a news conference with Kim speaking to men in civilian and military dress at a long table]

### Ryzhkov, DPRK's Yi Exchange Greetings

*LD1703095489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1509 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—An exchange of congratulatory telegrams took place on the 40th anniversary of the signing of the agreement on economic and cultural cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK.

This first document in the history of Soviet-Korean relations was based on the full equality of the two parties' rights, says the USSR Council of Ministers' telegram to Yi Kun-Mo, premier of the DPRK Administrative

Council, and laid a firm foundation for extensive cooperation in the economic, cultural, and other spheres, cooperation which today is developing fruitfully in the interests of socialist construction in both countries. The desire is expressed for the DPRK workers to achieve new successes in carrying out the republic's broad social and economic development program, which was planned at the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea, and in the battle for the unification of Korea on a peaceful democratic basis.

Yi Kun-mo's congratulatory telegram to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, notes the two countries' close cooperation over the past 40 years in the economic, cultural, and scientific-technological spheres. Confidence is expressed in the future development and extension of the friendship and cooperation between the Korean and Soviet peoples in the spirit of the accords reached at the Korean-Soviet summit meeting in October 1986. The premier of the DPRK Administrative Council wished the fraternal Soviet people success in carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th CPSU Conference, and in their efforts directed toward securing peace throughout the world.

### Japanese Minister Denies Praising Militarism

*OW1703032689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] TASS Tokyo correspondent reports as follows in connection with remarks by Education Minister Nishioka.

Education Minister Nishioka on 14 March denied criticism by the Chinese mass media that he had praised militarism in Japan. In a news conference held last week for foreign reporters, the education minister said the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and 1895 and the Japanese-Russian War in 1904 and 1905 enhanced Japan's national strength and prestige in international society. In response, Beijing Radio said the remarks were a new attempt by the Japanese Government to justify Japan's aggressive wars. In the news conference, Education Minister Nishioka tried to justify Japan's stance, saying the Japanese-Russian War was not an aggressive war. However, a KYODO report clearly pointed out the following points: Japan's victory in the war with Czarist Russia served to push Japan towards a colonial policy in Korea. Korea was annexed to Japan 5 years after the victory. Japan's victory in the Japanese-Russian War provided Japan with the possibility of securing rights to colonial rule in Manchuria for the first time.

Nishioka made the remarks when he explained the substance of a draft education reform prepared by the Education Ministry for foreign reporters. The draft reform is seen by a majority of people as having a deep nationalistic tint. For example, the government wants the study of Admiral Togo, one of the heroes in the Japanese-Russian War, to be incorporated in the curriculum in schools. MAINICHI DAILY NEWS said that the accomplishments of Admiral Togo were used to instill militarism in school students until the end of World War II.

The outspoken remarks by the education minister came immediately after the government managed to mollify a major diplomatic scandal triggered by Prime Minister Takeshita's remarks. Questioned at a Diet session, Prime Minister Takeshita said that whether Japan was an aggressor in the past wars should be determined by historians in the future. However, in the face of fierce protests against his remarks from China, the DPRK, the ROK [as heard], and other countries, Prime Minister Takeshita had no choice but to admit that the Pacific war was Japanese militarist aggression .

Former National Land Agency Director General Okuno, who tried to justify Japan's aggression last year, was forced to step down.

### Mongolia, China Sign Cultural Exchange Program

*OW1703012489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 11 Mar 89*

[Text] On Friday, the Mongolian-Chinese governmental cultural exchange program for 1989-1990 was signed in Ulaanbaatar.

Under the program, the two countries will promote cooperation in culture, fine arts, science, education, and sports. Both countries will send teachers, students, scholars, reporters, creative groups, and athletes to visit each other.

In addition, according to the program, both sides will also exchange publications, song and music tapes, and television programs, as well as hold exhibitions in each other's country.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Philippines' Concepcion Urges More USSR Trade

*HK1603061789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Interview with Jose Concepcion, Philippine secretary of trade and industry, by unidentified Moscow radio reporter; date, place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] The visit to the Soviet Union by Philippine Secretary of Trade and Industry Jose Concepcion has ended. During his visit, the secretary held talks with Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev and with the head of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Malkevich and other Soviet officials. One result of Mr Concepcion's visit was the signing of a procotol covering economic and

trade cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Philippines. Before he returned to the Philippines, Jose Concepcion granted an interview to a Moscow Radio reporter.

[Reporter] Mr Concepcion, what were the aims of your visit to the Soviet Union?

[Concepcion] My visit here was made to have an accord with the Soviet Union, since we take seriously what Mr Gorbachev has declared. Under his leadership it has been possible to have a new world, and therefore it is necessary for the Philippines to strengthen relations with the Soviet Union.

[Reporter] Mr Concepcion, which of the Soviet leaders involved in foreign economic cooperation and trade did you meet and what issues did you discuss?

[Concepcion] The Soviet Union is sincere in its intentions to establish new accords as announced by Mr Gorbachev in Vladivostok when he addressed the countries in Asia and the Pacific. As a result of this, we will go along with him, not only to help our own country, but also to help the Soviet Union, especially in the Vladivostok area. [answer as heard]

[Reporter] Mr Concepcion, what are the results of your visit here?

[Concepcion] Many. The first deals with footwear. As you know, the Soviet Union badly needs shoes; so one agreement involves the Soviet Union sending leather to us, which we will cut and sew to cover the tops of shoes and then dispatch back to the Soviet Union. The first contract covers 100,000 pairs of shoes and will eventually go as high as 4 million. We plan to export badly needed commodities, especially to the eastern part of the Soviet Union, such as electronic products. We are now exporting electronic products to Europe. After exporting to Russia for a year or two, an assembly plant will be set up in Vladivostok because we do not believe that relations between us should involve only buying and selling. We also need to manufacture.

[Reporter] Do you believe that trade between the Soviet Union and the Philippines should be expanded and... [break in transmission]

[Concepcion] ...because our volume of trade, which is now 40 million [currency not identified], we plan to raise to 200 million. This is necessary, if the Soviet Union really wants to give a large amount of aid to the Philippines, since the Philippines is in dire straits because many of our people are jobless. If possible, within 4 years we hope the Soviet Union will buy $2 worth for each $1 worth we buy. After 5 years we will be able to deal with each other on an equal basis. The equality will not come from the 40 million but from a higher number—200 million.

[Reporter] Mr Concepcion, in which fields, in your view, would economic cooperation between our two countries be most profitable?

[Concepcion] In the large amount of assistance given towards livelihood projects for our people, whose conditions now are improving but are not as good as we would like. The best contribution in this regard would be the creation of jobs. This agreement involving footwear is an important part of the scheme because shoemakers in the Philippines are not in large factories but small home-based industries. This will be of great assistance to our people.

[Reporter] The Soviet Union's economic reforms involve the expansion of business by Soviet manufacturers and government corporations, and by cooperatives. They are allowed to trade overseas without obtaining permission from the trade ministry. Is there a plan to set up joint ventures between Filipino companies and Soviet cooperatives and industrial complexes?

[Concepcion] Yes sir. This involves private companies going to Vladivostok to set up their joint ventures before engaging in trade. I am delighted that the Soviet Union has changed the system and is expanding the cooperatives, increasing exports, and engaging in joint ventures. Because, in my view, we can no longer think only of ourselves. We need cooperation among other countries.

[Reporter] Mr Concepcion, do you believe that the creation of a free-trade zone in the Soviet Far East, as announced by Soviet leaders, will offer good opportunities for economic and trade cooperation between our two countries?

[Concepcion] You know, your Tagalog is more polished than mine. I am rather tickled. You are not from the Philippines and yet your Tagalog is very polished. Sometimes I have difficulty understanding your questions. In my view, the new system planned by Mr Gorbachev... [changes thought] I really admire him because I believe he is a leader concerned not only for Russians but also for people around the world. His reforms will redound to the benefit of the Russians here in the Soviet Union as well as to people around the world who trade with you.

[Reporter] In your view, what contribution can the Soviet Union make for the success of economic cooperation among the Pacific nations?

[Concepcion] I believe the greatest assistance it can give, particularly during the coming 4 years, is to buy products from the Philippines because the Soviet Union buys billions of dollars' worth of products from other countries. If it really wants to help the Philippines, if possible the USSR should buy our products. We are not asking for you to buy very much... we are only aiming for 200 million, which is very small compared to the billions of dollars worth the Soviet Union buys from other countries.

[Reporter] When you return to the Philippines, what impressions of the Soviet Union and its people will you carry back with you?

[Concepcion] My impression is that the document we have signed is something we can fulfill, something we can transform. The document we signed was born out of hardship, fatigue and, one could almost say, blood, while we threshed out ways in which we could establish new relations with the Soviet Union. One other thing that pleased me among the impressions I obtained was the fact that there are so many churches here. The Russian people, in my view, have a strong belief in God. That, in my opinion, is a blessing received from God—the blessing of Gorbachev's leadership. As I see it, he is a leader who will change the world.

## Near East & South Asia

### Vorontsov Discusses Afghanistan Situation

*LD1703121389 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—A month has passed since Soviet troops have left Afghanistan. What, in your opinion, was the main, most important distinction of the situation in Afghanistan and around it during the period that has elapsed? This question was put to Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR and ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Afghanistan, by TASS political commentator Yuriy Kornilov.

"The most important thing, is undoubtedly, that Afghanistan, its Army, its patriotic forces have shown most convincingly that they are prepared and able to uphold by themselves, without our military participation, the country's sovereignty, the mainstays of the development course they have chosen," Yuliy Vorontsov said. "Disproved now are the predictions of those foreign political leaders, Western brass hats and other 'experts,' who claimed unanimously that the 'Kabul regime would collapse like a house of cards' as soon as the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan. Such forecasts can be explained by different reasons: Some people were simply carried away by wishful thinking, while others strove earnestly to analyse the situation objectively, but were baffled by misinformation, overestimated the strength of the opposition. Now both are beating the retreat....

"Noteworthy is the fact that up to 130 pressmen, including a no little number of representatives of the Western bourgeois press, came to the Afghan capital on the eve of the Soviet Army's complete withdrawal. Many of them made no bones of the fact that they were dispatched there for the only purpose of depicting most colourfully 'Kabul's fall." Now that it is clear that no such 'sensation' is forthcoming, they are beginning to pack their suitcases little by little. They appear to be quite disinterested in the efforts exerted by the Afghan Government and by President Najibullah personally to restore peace in the country and to rehabilitate the war-ravaged economy...."

"Characteristic of the present stage of developments is that the opposition is going over to resolute political and military actions, pursuing the purpose of importing its 'transitional government' into the country and installing it in Kabul. Another aspect of the situation, which is becoming increasingly important, is Pakistan's direct and growing military intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan, which it is already hard to evalute otherwise than direct aggression. This situation, tantamount to the beginning of a Pakistani-Afghan war, has not been assessed duly by authoritative international organisations. And one more important point: The Afghan Army has lately demonstrated its staunchness and in many cases its unquestionable superiority over the well-armed rebels and Pakistani detachments."

"Yes, the Republic has held out. But if we peruse the Western, above all, American press, we shall see right away that it is literally packed with reports on rebel 'military successes'....

"Well, let's analyse, even though briefly, the Afghan situation from the military, or, to be more exact, from the military-political point of view. It is worth recalling how often the opposition leaders have declared publicly in recent months about plans for different military 'marches'. They had fixed exact dates for the capture of Jallabad 'by allout assault', for the 'liberation of Qandahar', the date when they would 'ride on a white horse into Herat', etc. These statements were, of course, picked up promptly and published broadly in the West. And what do we see? All the major towns are still held by the Afghan Government today, a month after the Soviet pullout. The rebels have, indeed, become more active. They are known to be firing missiles at residential quarters and the international airport of Kabul, at other Afghan towns, bringing down civilian planes by "Stingers", terrorizing the population of individual areas. Nevertheless, they have not scored a single serious, weighty military victory. Fresh proof of this is the failure of their 'march' on Jalalabad.

"The withdrawal of Soviet troops has deprived rebel leaders of the 'Jihad' slogan (slogan of Holy War against the faithless), which had for nine years united in some measure the opposition's ill-assorted ranks. And this brought about a further deepening of contradictions and strife within its ranks, which had existed prior to that, too. At the time when the leaders of the oppositional 'seven', entrenched in Peshawar, Pakistan, are advertising from every rooftop the so-called 'transitional government', the commanders of rebel detachments and groups are pursuing different, as they see it, more realistic goals. Having realized the hopelessness of further bloodshed, some of them are establishing more and more frequently,

for that matter, contacts with the people's power, are expressing support to the idea of national reconciliation and formation of a broadly representative coalition government. Others, and they are also quite numerous, having established their control by force over this or that area, or even part of a province, are endeavouring to set up there some sort of 'separate principalities' and their main concern is to strengthen their own power. Cases are not infrequent when they defend this power by armed force from raids of neighboring 'princes'. In other words, parallel with growing support of the lawful government's policy, an increasingly obvious tendency is emerging, which has always been typical for multinational, multi-tribal Afganistan—to cantonize the country according to clans and tribes. It stands to reason that this process can in no way be regarded as positive. But it, too, tends to undermine, objectively speaking, the positions of those anti-Afghan quarters abroad and of Pakistani militarists, who are eager to usurp power in a sovereign country by means of a puppet 'government'.

And one more thing. The more active the irreconcilables are, the more obvious it becomes what their victories cost the civilian population. It is relevant to recall in this connection the events in Konduz. Having captured the town for a short while last year, the rebels looted shops, ransacked hospitals and schools. There was a veritable gun-battle at the doors of the local bank. The fighters for Islam's purity fired submachine guns at each other in a frantic race to the bank's safes. The same thing happened and continues to happen in practically all the populated localities which fall into rebel hands. Is it suprising, therefore, that many Afghans, including those who tried to keep aloof of developments in the country for all these years, and even those who harbour no sympathies for the regime, are now voicing more and more frequently their readiness to defend the towns they live in? In other words, outside armed attacks are now being resisted not only by the Afghan Army, the country's patriotic forces, but by ever-broader sections of the population.

The above does not mean, of course, that the situation should be simplified. It remains complicated, very complicated, indeed. The opposition is well armed, it has gained much combat experience, it controls in this or that measure a large part of the country's rural areas, and its extremist wing is prepared to go the whole hog in order to usurp central power. But it remains a fact that all rebel attempts to capture this or that provincial centre, just as attempts to strangle Kabul by means of a blockade, have invariably failed. I am convinced that if there had been no outside aspect of the problem, if outside interference in Afghan affairs had been be stopped, the Afghan problem would have receded into history already now.

Outside interference, which you have mentioned, is linked above all with Pakistan's stand. But definite positive changes are perceivable in the country's life and policy after the death of President Ziaul Haq. Isn't that so? What is the reason then that Islamabad continues to grossly violate the Geneva accords?

"The influence of military quarters is quite potent in Islamabad today, too. This is why the extremist wing of the 'Peshawar Seven' continues to enjoy active support there".

But there are the "eight" in Iranian territory. There is, finally, the ex-King of Afghanistan Zahir Shah, with whom you have recently met in Italy and who is known to wield definite influence at home. What role do they play or could play in an Afghan settlement?

"It should be said that the Iran-based 'alliance of eight' is now adhering to a more responsible line. And this is not surprising, since this opposition group is not under the influence of the United States. Pakistani generals look down upon it rather haughtily and sometimes even offensively. On the other hand, a no little role is played by the sense of realism, displayed recently in Teheran vis-a-vis the events in Afghanistan.

"As to Zahir Shah, he is aware of his influence in definite Afghan political circles and intends to play his role in stopping the bloodshed in the country, which he had ruled for forty years.

In the prevailing situation the United Nations could apparently play a more active role in reaching a settlement....

"Of course, the United Nations cannot remain on the sidelines when it comes to such important problems, deeply troubling international public opinion, as establishing peace in Afghanistan, putting an end to the death of thousands of innocent people, preventing aggression, precluding a major military outbreak in the region. The latest session of the UN General Assembly has unequivocally instructed the UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to take active measures to help Afghan political circles set up a broadly-based government. Important also is the role of the United Nations and its bodies in rendering humanitarian aid to the population of Afghanistan, primarily government aid. Hence, the United Nations has much to do in Afghanistan. To sum up the above-said, I should like to say that there is every opportunity today to switch the Afghan settlement to peaceful rails. It is the duty of all, who prize peace in Asia, to exploit these opportunities fully and completely.

**Vorontsov Holds News Conference on Afghan War**
*LD1603232689 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Report on news conference by Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Afghanistan, for Afghan and foreign correspondents in Kabul on 16 March—read by announcer]

[Text] Today is the first day of the second month since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. During this period the Government of Afghanistan has

remained firm and stable without the Soviet troops and will remain as such in the future, too.

This was stated by Y. Vorontsov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Kabul, to domestic and foreign journalists during a press conference held in Kabul. He added that the start of the second month since the withdrawal of Soviet troops is witnessing an intensification of the war in Afghanistan, which in itself nullifies the interpretations alleging that the existence of Soviet troops was the cause of the situation in Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan from the start was not the cause of the war; the fighting began prior to this. There are no Soviet forces in Afghanistan today, but the war is becoming more fierce with every passing day, and this means there is another phenomenon causing the war in Afghanistan.

In addition to this, we can see another aspect to the war in Afghanistan, and we see that foreign forces really do exist on the territory of Afghanistan. They are not Soviet forces, they are Pakistani forces. The Pakistani forces are directly involved in the battle in Jalalabad, which is a fresh dimension to the Afghanistan situation. Mr Vorontsov added:

You journalists are aware of the plan presented by the Pakistani authorities for forming a confederation between Afghanistan and Pakistan; and what we see now is the application of the same theory in practice. The Pakistani forces want to forcefully impose this confederation, which has brought about a completely new and dangerous situation. I must say that the Soviet Union does not want this situation and asks the international community to pay serious attention to the Afghan issue. In the Jalalabad battle the people cannot forget that there are documents, such as the Geneva accords, upon which the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was completed. However, Pakistan did not fulfill its commitments vis-a-vis the Geneva Accords.

With regard to the training, arming, exercising, and dispatch of armed extremist groups to Afghanistan, as well as Pakistani militia units to Afghanistan for the continuation of war and bloodshed in this country, all of which is contrary to the Geneva Accords, Y. Vorontsov said:

There are many documents and much evidence that even the eyewitnesses and reporters of the Western mass media have accepted and referred to. The Soviet Union and the United States are the guarantors of the Geneva accords, even though the United States has forgotten this reality. However, the U.S. signature is there at the bottom of the Geneva Accords.

Y. Vorontsov recalled the duties of the United Nations with regard to Afghanistan and in accordance with the resolution of this organization, asking the UN secretary general to assist in achieving a comprehensive and peaceful solution to the Afghan issue as soon as possible. He added:

The following question can be raised: Why is the war continuing in Afghanistan and intensifying, and why did Pakistan enter this war? When talking with the leaders of the opposition groups in Pakistan and Iran, a total of 15 people, as well as with the leaders of Pakistan, I asked them why they wanted to continue the war and bloodshed in Afghanistan while the military units of the Soviet Union were completely withdrawn from Afghanistan and the ground was being prepared for the formation of a coalition government with broad bases?

In recalling the peaceful policy of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and its preparedness for talks with the leaders of the opposition, Y. Vorontsov said:

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has always been ready for talks with the leaders of the opposition in order to achieve a peaceful solution to the situation in Afghanistan. However, the governments of Pakistan and the U.S. Administration are fanning the war and bloodshed in Afghanistan. They arm and encourage the extremist groups to commit murder and shed blood in Afghanistan.

Shedding light on the battle in Jalalabad and the losses and damage resulting from this war, Y. Vorontsov said:

We fully believe that the battle in Jalalabad should be ended as soon as possible and that Pakistan should resolutely refrain from intervention and aggression in Afghanistan. Positive and valuable action should be taken in this direction as soon as possible. The leaders of the opposition must prepare for holding talks and ending the war and bloodshed in Afghanistan.

## * Afghan Envoy Views Pakistan Role in Jalalabad

*18010524 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 p 3*

[Article by A. Kartsev entitled: "In the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] Yesterday in the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ambassador of the Republic of Afghanistan to the USSR, S.M. Gulabzoy, spoke.

"It has been a month since the pullout of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from our country," he said. "The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan have fully fulfilled their obligations as stipulated by the Geneva agreement and expected the same from the U.S.A. and Pakistan. However, the facts we have at hand demonstrate that the interference of these countries in the internal affairs of our government are not only not decreasing, but are increasing."

S.M. Gulabzoy showed that according to information at hand, in the operations taking place at Jalalabad the oppositionists actively sought the help of foreign military advisers, Pakistani militiamen, children, and units of the regular Pakistani Army. The plan for the seizure of Jalalabad was figured at seven days.

"The heroic actions of the Afghan Army spoiled those plans" continued the ambassador. "In only the last few days the oppositionists have lost more than 3100 killed in the battles for Jalalabad. This includes four advisers from Saudi Arabia, two from the United States, and thirty children. The actions of the Afghan Army, which in the last few years has accumulated a huge amount of combat experience, led to large material losses and, no less importantly, to large moral losses by the oppositionists. Many armed detachments of the opposition have begun disorderly retreats."

The oppositionists give special significance to preventing the information regarding their defeats at Jalalabad from receiving wide distribution.

Special detachments are intercepting all of the oppositionists returning to the camps on the territory of Pakistan in order to prevent them from telling the families of the dead and wounded about the loss of their relatives.

Gulabzoy announced that according to information being published currently in the Western press, the oppositionists are continuing to transfer ammunition and military equipment to Jalalabad. New groups of military advisers are also arriving. There are reports that units of the Pakistani Army participated in the battles, and that in the near future Pakistani troops and children are preparing to begin a new offensive on the city.

"At the current time we are in full control of all of the strategic points in the city itself and in the surrounding region," concluded the ambassador.

## Jalalabad Under Attack From Four Directions

*LD1703042589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] The city of Jalalabad, the administrative center of Nangarhar Province, was subjected to attack from four directions: The southeast, southwest, north, and northeast. Aleksandr Shkiranko, our correspondent in Afghanistan, reports on the situation in this eastern province.

[Shkirando] For more than 2 weeks now, bloody fighting has been in progress around this politically, economically, and strategically important city. The extremists' first offensive did not bring them the expected results. I would remind you that they were planning, in the course of a few hours, to seize Jalalabad and install in the city their government, which recently was created in Rawalpindi as a result of considerable efforts by Pakistan and the United States.

Why the extremists chose Jalalabad as the future capital of their government is a topic for separate commentary. In short, it needs to be said that this is not a sign of the strength of the irreconcilable opposition, but rather of its weakness. Judging by everything, the opposition did not dare to undertake a frontal attack against the Afghan Government troops in order to gain possession of Kabul or another major town situated deep within the territory of Afghanistan. But here, 100 km from the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, the extremists feel not only a sense of comradeship with their patron, the Pakistani military, but also their direct support, which in language that is comprehensible to everyone is called armed interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Afghanistan.

According to Afghan sources, up to 25 percent of the detachments of extremists attacking Jalalabad are Pakistani tribal militiamen. The combat actions are being directed by Pakistani intelligence officers as well as U.S. and Saudi Arabian advisers.

As a result of powerful bomb strikes against the joint forces of Afghan extremists and Pakistani fighters in the areas of (Samarkhel), Behsud, Chaprahar, and (Darruksa), Nabi Amani, the head of the press center, stated at today's briefing in Kabul for local and foreign journalists that the morale of the opposition has fallen considerably. In the situation that has come about, the Pakistani advisers are forcing the Afghan extremists to bombard Jalalabad predominantly with rocket weaponry. Meanwhile, government forces in conjunction with the population of Jalalabad and of Nangarhar Province, are taking an ever more energetic part in repelling the offensive by Afghan extremists and Pakistani militiamen, Nabi Amani stated.

## 'Tense' Situation in Jalalabad Reported

*LD1603220789 Moscow TASS in English 2143 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Kabul March 16 TASS—There is a tense situation around Jalalabad, the centre of the Nangarhar Province. It is being subjected to constant attacks by armed units of the irreconcilable opposition backed by the Pakistani military. The government forces hold positions around the city and rebuff rebels' raids within a radius of 10 to 15 kilometres from the outskirts of the city. The attacking forces are sustaining heavy casualties. Within the past 24 hours as many as 456 officers and men were killed, 117 were wounded. Eleven mujahidin were taken prisoner. A number of them crossed over to the side of government forces. As many as 19 enemy vehicles, six rocket launchers, a large number of cannons and mortars, and four command posts were destroyed by bombing and shelling. A caravan with armaments and ammunition was liquidated.

Rocket attacks and shelling of Jalalabad continue, though not as intensive as before. The city's residential areas and mosques are being damaged and destroyed by explosions. There are also civilian casualties, which include women and children.

The Pakistani military assumed the task of supplying reinforcements and ammunition to rebels and is urging them to continue the offensive against the province's administrative centre. According to reports reaching Kabul, the Pakistani military authorities are obstructing the pullback of rebel units from Jalalabad. These units sustained heavy losses in battles against government forces. To prevent retreat, the Pakistani authorities use the 18th Infantry Division of Pakistan's land forces from whose positions Jalalabad is heavily shelled.

Lieutenant General 'Abdul Haq Ulumi, secretary of Afghanistan's Supreme Defense Council, told a briefing on Thursday that the rebels' total losses from the time they launched the offensive ten days ago reached 4.5 thousand. Over two thousand rebels were wounded. The Afghan Army is in full control of the situation around the city.

Over the past two days the situation around Herat and in the province of the same name has worsened. According to intelligence reports received by the Afghan Army, the rebels' leaders in this area drew up a plan for simultaneously attacking the province's administrative centre, as well as the city of Shindand with its Air Force base and Shindand-Towraghoudi road. The extremists tried to carry out that plan on March 14 when they launched a rocket attack weapons and mortar fire [as received] on army posts and residential areas. As many as 150 rockets rained down on Herat. As many as 27 residents, including women and children, died. Actions by units of the Afghan Armed Forces frustrated the rebels' attempts to launch an offensive and forced them to retreat. Operations to neutralize armed opposition units and their bases are being conducted in Herat Province.

### Afghan Fighting Continues in Qandahar, Herat

*PM1603144589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7*

[Roundup of two TASS reports followed by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov dispatch under the general heading: "Afghanistan: Tension Persists"]

[Text] Kabul 15 Mar—Subunits of government troops have attacked hard-line opposition groupings in Qandahar Province's Tor-Kotal [name as transliterated] district and Baghlan Province's Pol-e-Khomri. Some 13 rebels were killed and approximately two dozen wounded. The enemy also suffered considerable losses of men in Herat Province's Indzhil [name as transliterated] district.

In an interview with Kabul Television, General Manouk Mangal, [name as transliterated] commander of Jalalabad garrison, stated that 250 Pakistani and 200 U.S. and Arab advisers are taking part in the hostilities on the Afghan opposition side.

On his return from Delhi, Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil announced that India has agreed to begin shipments to Kabul in the near future as part of international humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. He pointed out that this aid includes food and other necessities.

Delhi, 15 Mar—According to India's PTI, Afghan opposition units are employing new U.S. guided missiles in the fight for the city of Jalalabad.

Helsinki, 15 Mar—The Swedish and Danish press has presented new evidence of the presence of Pakistani troops in Afghanistan.

Stockholm's AFTONBLADET [as received] points out in a full-page article under the headline "Pakistanis Fighting in Afghanistan" that Danish journalist Peter Bergen visited the armed opposition camps on Afghan territory. He met and talked with Pakistani servicemen there, photographed them, and "prepared a really sensational report." However, last Sunday on his way back to Pakistan he "was in a car crash" and died on that country's territory. His colleagues, journalists from Finland and Turkey, have sent his material to Denmark to the editorial office of AKTUELT, who posted Bergen there.

Bergen wrote that Islamabad has recently shown a clear desire to restrict if not competely curtail journalists' trips from Pakistan to Afghanistan. "Many Afghan mujahidin who escorted journalists around the 'liberated areas' were then arrested by the Pakistani authorities," the Danish journalist's last report says.

### Pakistani Army Forcing Afghans to Fight

*LD1603164189 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Kabul March 16 TASS—According to reports reaching here, the military authorities of Pakistan are hampering the retreat of rebels from the city of Jalalabad, which were considerably depleted in battles against government troops. For this purpose they use units of the 18th Infantry Division of the Pakistani Army, which subjects to intensive shelling the administrative centre of Nangarhar Province.

Units of Pakistani mercenaries were ordered to carry out forced mobilization of teenagers starting from age 14 in the Afghan refugee camps near Peshawar. Eyewitness accounts indicate that hundreds of refugee families have decided to return to Afghanistan on learning about the order. Protests against the arbitrary actions of the Pakistani military flared up in several camps. The opposition diehards and Pakistani troops, who were moved against the protesters, opened fire killing seven and seriously wounding 12 Afghan women.

## PDPA Essential to Afghanistan's 'Destiny'

*PM1703145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7*

[V. Okulov article under the rubric "Hot on the Trail": "Month Later"]

[Text] A month has passed since Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan. That is a short time, but enough to learn the first lessons. And they are instructive.

The Peshawar group's self-seeking statements claiming that President Najibullah's regime would immediately crumble after our soldiers left and that the Peshawar people would take over the capital turned out to be a bluff.

Over the past month the armed opposition has used a wide range of means of combat. These included the setting up of its own "government" in the hope that it would gain international recognition; attacks on Jalalabad by insurgent detachments with the participation of the Pakistani military, U.S., and other advisers; and plans to encircle and cut off food and fuel supplies to Kabul and certain other cities. The attempts to demoralize government forces, break down the Army, and win over functionaries in the state and party apparatus have continued.

All this has not produced the desired result. Nonetheless, the situation is tense and is being "cranked up" in a complex way.

What does Kabul have going for it?

There has been a consolidation of patriotic forces and a strengthening of their resolve to defend the country's national interests. The declaration of the state of emergency has played a positive role in strengthening the unity of party ranks and Army discipline. The authorities' actions are now less complacent and more organized and cohesive.

However events may develop, it is becoming increasingly obvious, even to the politically unsophisticated, that there is no way that Afghanistan's destiny can be decided without the participation of the PDPA—the most organized detachment of Afghan society. It not only has experience in running the country at a crucial point in its history, it also has a constructive program for its political and socioeconomic development—the opposition has nothing similar.

The conclusion is self-evident: The situation in the country can only be stabilized and plans made for the future by a government in which a wide spectrum of Afghan forces will cooperate on a coalition basis, not by a "separate," "transitional" government. The idea that any of the opposition parties could have a monopoly on power in Afghanistan is groundless. Peace and stability in that land will only be possible if Afghans cooperate on a broad political footing. This is the call being made by the PDPA and the other progressive circles that cooperate with it.

It is clear that there will be no peace in Afghanistan as long as the opposition, revealing its inability to think realistically, continues to try to take power in Kabul by force of arms. There will be no peace as long as Pakistani leaders, submitting to the incessant pressure from the military, merely mouth an interest in an internal Afghan settlement while maintaining insurgent bases and camps on their territory and sending their subunits into Afghanistan. There will be no peace as long as the United States, in a throwback to imperial policy, continues to ignore its commitments as a guarantor of the Geneva accords.

## Foreign Ministry To Upgrade PLO Mission

*JN1603181689 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 15 Mar 89 pp 1, 21*

[Text] Moscow—AL-ITTIHAD—USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov yesterday said that Moscow decided to upgrade the PLO diplomatic representation in the Soviet Union to the level of an embassy. He denied that the Soviet leadership sent a message to Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat conveyed by the Soviet ambassador to Tunisia.

Responding to a question by AL-ITTIHAD, Gerasimov said he does not know whether his country has proposed a dialogue between the PLO and Israel. However, he said that what is important is the meeting itself, not its venue. He said: The venue could be Moscow, Cairo, or any other place.

PLO Ambassador Nabil Amr said Moscow pays great attention to the preparatory stage which must precede the convocation of an international conference. He emphasized that this Soviet proposal is not an alternative to an international conference.

## 'Arafat Determined To Continue PLO Struggle

*LD1603125889 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Tunis March 16 TASS—The determination of the Palestinian people to carry on the struggle for their national rights has been reaffirmed by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

Following a meeting with Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali here on Wednesday, the PLO leader stated that, despite Tel Aviv's repressive actions, the Palestinian uprising would be continued right up to Israel's withdrawal from Palestinian lands.

Various aspects of the Palestinian problem and the PLO's political actions, including matters pertaining to the forthcoming second official meeting between the Palestinian and U.S. delegations on March 22, were considered at the meeting.

Robert Pelletreau, the U.S. ambassador to Tunisia, is authorised to represent the U.S. side. The Palestinians were headed by Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, member of the PLO executive, during the first round of the American-Palestinian dialogue.

Reports reaching here indicate that there is a complex situation on the occupied territories. According to the data of the Palestinian News Agency WAFA, the town of Jenin has been the arena of the barbarous actions of Israeli soldiers for the sixth day. Repressive actions with regard to the residents of the town assumed an unprecedented scope. Soldiers rampage through houses and conduct a campaign of mass arrests. The townspeople are experiencing an acute shortage of food and medicines.

There has been a lack of water and electricity in Kafr Labd village for 80 days. The supply of these was cut off by the Israelis in retaliation for the population's resistance to the occupation regime.

Mass demonstrations took place in many populated areas. There were Palestinians' attacks on Israeli military vehicles and patrols. The Israelis, when suppressing the action of Arab population, again used firearms and teargas grenades. There are casualties among Palestinians.

## Protest Lodged Over Shevardnadze Remarks

*TA1703122489 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 17 Mar 89 p 2*

[Report by Ilan Kfir]

[Text] Israel has recently lodged a diplomatic protest with the Soviet Union over the contents of a speech delivered by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Cairo.

According to a report that belatedly reached the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Shevardnadze lashed out at Israel during a meeting with Egyptian parliamentarians and warned that if it refused to talk to the PLO and consequently curbed the peace process, the implementation of sanctions would be contemplated. He added that if Israel sabotaged Palestinian legitimacy, this would undermine its own legitimacy.

HADASHOT has learned that Foreign Minister Moshe Arens initiated the protest to the Soviet Union before his departure for the United States. The protest was conveyed through the Soviet consular delegation in Israel. In the protest, Israel criticizes Shevardnadze's warnings and argues that there is no need for such remarks in relations between countries.

There has been no change in Soviet-Israeli relations since the Arens-Shevardnadze meeting in Cairo. The Soviets have not yet set a date for the talks between experts that were decided upon in the Cairo meeting. Jerusalem believes that the Soviet Union will await the results of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's visit to Washington before deciding its next moves.

## Bogdanov Predicts Restored USSR-Israel Ties

*LD1603153289*

[Report on interview with Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the Institute of U.S. and Canada Studies, by unidentified Moscow radio correspondent; date, place of interview not given]

[Editorial report] Moscow in English to North America at 0000 GMT on 16 March carries a 4-minute report on an interview granted by Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the Institute of U.S. and Canada Studies, with a Moscow radio correspondent. The report opens:

"I am deeply convinced that diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel will be restored. It's just a matter of time, said Radomir Bogdanov, deputy director of the Institute of U.S. and Canada Studies, in an interview for Radio Moscow. Recently he made a trip to Jerusalem to attend an international conference on a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. There have been no diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel for over 20 years now; nevertheless, Radomir Bogdanov believes that the two countries have opportunities for cooperation in different areas."

Bogdanov then notes that he was greatly impressed by the level of economic development in Israel: farming, the use of solar energy, the high level of the health service and the pharmaceutical industry. Continuing, he states: "Like the Soviet Union, Israel is interested in promoting bilateral cooperation. There is a need to develop not only economic ties, but also scientific and cultural exchanges."

He then reviews the history of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel, and expresses the opinion that conditions conducive to settling the Middle East conflict are emerging. He discusses his visit, noting he drew attention to the fact that, after settlement in Afghanistan, the Middle East remains the only hotbed of tension, and then expresses the opinion that neither the Israelis nor the Arabs are interested in prolonging the conflict. In conclusion, he says that if an agreement were reached, the United States and USSR could play the role of guarantors.

### Few Jewish Immigrants Immigrate to Israel

*TA1603162389 Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Absorption Minister Rabbi Yitzhaq Peretz, who was recently in Vienna to study the issue of Soviet Jewish "dropouts," was informed that 2,226 Jews left the USSR in February, and that 332 of them immigrated to Israel. Between 1-13 January 1989, 1,641 Jews departed from the Soviet Union, and 60 of them immigrated to Israel. This constitutes a 97 percent "dropout" rate.

### Lack of Unanimity at ICO Session Noted

*PM1603143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7*

[PRAVDA special correspondent V. Belyakov dispatch: "Acute Debate"]

[Text] Riyadh, 15 Mar—Debate and discussion are continuing at the conference of Islamic Conference Organization foreign ministers, sometimes assuming an acute character. The point is that more than 40 countries are represented here, including some that are in a state of confrontation such as Iran and Iraq, for instance. Their approaches by no means always coincide.

The discussion is focused on several dozen questions, but the most important are the Palestinian problem, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the scandal over the publication of Rushdie's "The Satanic Verses," and the situations in Lebanon and Afghanistan.

As for the latter, as is well known, Saudi Arabia has recognized the mujahidin "transitional government." At the same time Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal stated: "We have assessed all the steps taken by the Soviet Union in withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan. This allows us to hope that the USSR will continue to play a positive role."

There is no general unanimity here on the Afghan question. Thus, North Yemeni Foreign Minister A. al-Karim al-Iryani stated long before the conference in a conversation with your correspondent that the creation of the "transitional government" can only preserve the split in Afghan society and prolong the war in that country. He advocated the formation of a government of national unity involving representatives of all Afghanistan's political forces.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### Gerasimov Reacts to Report of 'Warming' RSA Ties

*MB1603150389 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Text] There is a thawing in relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union, says an article in the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH by British journalist Simon Russell. The article stems from communication between officials of the two countries, but in our opinion this does not give the paper the right to conclude that relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union are warming up.

Recently, we told our listeners about the visit of an ANC delegation led by its President, Mr Oliver Tambo, to Moscow. On receiving the delegation in the Kremlin, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Anatoliy Lukyanov expressed solidarity with the ANC. The talks said the fight against apartheid is a campaign that needs the support of the whole world. The eradication of apartheid, a long-term aspiration of many, would equally delight black and white.

The SUNDAY TELEGRAPH article has drawn the following reaction from Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry:

[Begin Gerasimov recording in Russian fading into Zulu translation] Speculation in the British mass media about Soviet policy in relation to South Africa is meant to drive a wedge in relations between the Soviet Union and its friends. Remember that the Soviet Union supports a political settlement in southern Africa, and this includes the removal of apartheid. This would be in the long-term interests of all South Africans, whites included. This sentiment is shared by the ANC of South Africa. The Soviet Union continues to support the emergence of a free and democratic South Africa, free of discrimination, which is what all progressive South Africans, led by the ANC, are fighting for. [end recording]

### Adamishin Meets Tambo, ANC Delegation

*MB1303203689 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 13 Mar 89*

[Text] The Soviet deputy foreign minister, Anatoliy Adamishin, has received a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa headed by its President Oliver Tambo. The key topic at the talks was the situation in southern Africa and the processes taking place there.

## East Europe

### Strikes Continue in Poland; Situation Viewed

*PM1603144089 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Single Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Poland: Strikes Continuing"]

[Text] Work stoppages occurred at several coal mines in the Silesian basin Tuesday. PAP reports that groups of initiators of these actions blocked the descents to the mines and delayed miners on the first shift reporting for work.

They put forward demands concerning pay and working conditions. The strike ended at three mines after approximately 2 hours but continued until midday at the "Morcinek" mine.

In connection with the reports from Silesia, the government side participating in the work of the mining industry subgroup in the "roundtable" talks issued a sharp protest at the mine strikes. It declared that talks conducted under pressure of social disturbances distort the idea of a "roundtable" and hinder the formulation of agreement. "Solidarity's" representative at the talks described the situation at the mines as tense but referred to reports coming from there of the intention, despite everything, to maintain calm at mining enterprises.

In the city of Plock, where city transport enterprise workers have now been on strike for 18 days demanding increased wages, an extraordinary session of the city people's council adopted an unprecedented decision to set up a new transport enterprise. It will operate on a lease basis and is designed to get city transport operations going again. As a result of the strike the residents of this major industrial center have experienced serious difficulties getting to work and taking children to schools and kindergartens. The former transport enterprise, where strikers are continuing a "sit-in" strike, is being closed down.

City transport has not been operating for 2 days now in the cities of Skierniewice and Kedzierzyn, where a strike is also taking place.

Despite an agreement concluded between the management of the posts, telegraph, and telephone and the trade union federations, employees of a number of mail departments in Lodz and Wroclaw and of individual communications establishments in Gdansk, Szczecin, and certain other cities have stopped work.

**Rakowski Discusses Problems Facing Poland**
*PM1603114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Report on interview with Polish Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski by special correspondent M. Tretyakov in Warsaw entitled: "Poland: Rhythms of Changes"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Warsaw-Moscow—A group of Soviet journalists visited Poland recently at the invitation of the Polish Council of Ministers. Meetings took place with a number of Polish leaders during which there was a frank discussion about the large-scale political and economic transformations taking place in the country.

It is not often that you can talk in an unconstrained atmosphere over a cup of coffee with the head of government of a country which has entered a stage of rapid sociopolitical and economic changes. The situation is dictating its own conditions for the working day. The light stays on a long time in the windows of the office of the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. Nonetheless, M. Rakowski found the time for a thorough talk about the problems which Poland is encountering today on the path of creating more flexible mutual relations within society and leading the country to a qualitatively new level of development.

The basis for these mechanisms was laid by the decisions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum, including the decision on political and trade union pluralism. These decisions have become crucial in the country's life and have defined the framework for a fundamentally new countenance for socialism in Poland. This applies above all to the profound changes in the sociopolitical power structure. If, at the "roundtable" taking place in Warsaw the participants are able to agree and reach agreement on the most important questions of the country's life, then elections to the Sejm will be held in the early summer. They will take place in accordance with the new provision on elections, which will make it possible to nominate candidate deputies from opposition circles, too. There will thus be a process of incorporating the opposition into the country's political system with a consideration for the fact that its activity will not contradict the provisions of the constitution. It is also planned to form a second chamber in the country's supreme legislative organ and to institute the post of president of Poland, who will be invested with extensive rights, including the right to dissolve parliament, hold early elections, appoint ministers, and so forth.

"In the very near future," M. Rakowski said, "the Sejm's political structure will change. For the first time the PZPR will lose its majority in parliament but will retain it in conjunction with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party—its allies in the ruling coalition. That is enough to pass draft laws and to preserve the indestructibility of the state system. Two-thirds of the votes are needed to change the constitution during voting in the Sejm.

Another important element in Poland's present political life distinguishing it from other socialist countries is the ruling coalition. It now has an absolutely new importance in the structure of power from what it had before, when the parties allied to the PZPR had virtually no influence on the solution of the most important political issues. They are now full partners of the PZPR and the adoption of a particular fundamental decision depends on their votes.

Touching on this question, the head of the Polish Government said:

"This form of coalition power is a positive factor. It helps the emergence in our country of immunity to conceit and a guarantee that we will not make too many mistakes. In the present government my deputy from the United Peasant Party engages in agricultural questions and the minister of the domestic market is a Democratic

Party member. But let's take another example. There are 900,000 PZPR members in various leading posts with a party membership of 2.1 million. But now 300,000 of those places will have to be handed over to our ally parties—the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party."

With the birth of political pluralism an opportunity will appear for the emergence in Poland of other political parties in addition to the ones now existing. The legal basis for this will be the new law on associations. People here do not rule out the possibility that many existing associations may later be transformed into political parties of a right-wing complexion. It is true that these parties will most likely not have a large membership or be influential and with time many of them will disappear from the political arena.

Mutual relations between the government and the party leadership have undergone substantial changes as a result of the new formula for coalition rule. Formerly the Council of Ministers, it was stated during our conversation, did the bidding of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo which under the constitution bears no responsibility for the consequences of the decisions which are implemented. All responsibility rested with the government.

Under present conditions the government is independent of the political parties in its actions. The PZPR Central Committee Politburo assesses the economic situation in the country just once a quarter at its sessions. Economic questions are not now examined at PZPR Central Committee Politburo sessions. The government thus becomes the main center of power. We must persuade society that our government is not a government of one party but a government of the entire people, M. Rakowski noted.

The changes taking place in the country affect all aspects of political and economic life, including the PZPR. The new conditions which are emerging objectively influence the party in the direction of galvanizing its activity. Losing its monopoly of power, it will be obliged to struggle to implement its line, and that concerns not only the top party echelons but also the rank and file PZPR members. On the other hand this will enable the party to purge itself of those who joined its ranks solely to make a career and acquire a cozy nook. PZPR members are now often having to enter into public polemics with representatives of the opposition in front of the television cameras. Unfortunately, the Polish comrades noted, it is not always the party members who succeed in winning these television debates. The party members are incapable of ridding themselves of their dry, bureaucratic language. The party needs more experienced polemicists who know how to draw their audience to their side.

It is no secret that the decisions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum were received in various ways in the party. Even during the voting on the decision on political and trade union pluralism opinions differed and the decision was not adopted unanimously. There were votes against. Indeed, the proposal to hold a "roundtable" was also unexpected for the party. After the massive criticism of the opposition in 1982-1988 it was hard for rank and file PZPR members to understand how they could sit at the conference table with the enemy.

These questions are very serious and are of great importance for the successful implementation of profound political and economic reforms. I discussed them with J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

"From August last year through this January, that is until the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum," he said, "the party has gone through a crash course in strategic and political thinking and as a whole has preserved its unity. The party has resolved to conduct an historical experiment not to weaken socialism but to strengthen the stability of our socialist state. It has boldly embarked on incorporating the opposition into the political system. It is true that there are no guarantees that we will succeed in implementing everything we have conceived. But we must act and seek paths for solution. If we had not taken this step, the party would have been viewed in society as a conservative force. Grave economic and social upheavals would also have awaited us."

During the report and election campaign now under way in the PZPR the present course is mainly being maintained. It is true that voices casting doubt on it are also being heard. But this trend is not predominating in the party. According to our assessments, the report and election campaign is proceeding better than we had supposed. The party is beginning to think about how to act under conditions when the PZPR will not have a majority in the Sejm, when several trade union centers will emerge, when the opposition will be legalized, and so forth. It is important that the PZPR should retain the leading role of the initiator of transformations. And I am sure that this positive trend will intensify."

Some friction remains in the interaction of the country's leadership with the trade unions which have 7 million members. As W. Martyniuk, deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Alliance, stressed during our talk, the trade unions are advocating the successful completion of the "roundtable" and political and trade union pluralism but they do not agree with the government on everything in economic policy. In their opinion, the overcoming of economic difficulties should not be implemented mainly by lowering the living standard of working people employed in the socialized sector. During the "roundtable" talks the National Trade Union Alliance suggested that at any one enterprise there should be a common representative body of trade union

organizations belonging to different trade union centers to talk with the administration. This proposal also affects voivodship and central levels. The members of the trade unions are also coming out with the proposal to form a "society of working people" as the political representative body of the trade unions (the National Trade Union Alliance) in the people's councils and the Sejm.

The opposition is now mainly awaiting legalization and is engaged in expanding its public base. "Roundtable" debates are taking place in the working groups and heated debates lasting many hours are arising on virtually every issue. For instance, in the group engaged in questions of the mass media the representatives of the opposition are demanding independent access to television. But the government side is offering to form a third television channel (there are two national television channels operating in Poland), something like a citizens' tribune which will broadcast discussions with the participation of representatives of all political and social forces in the country.

That is the political picture of Poland today. It would be incomplete if we failed to mention that despite the "roundtable" taking place in Warsaw there are several dozen strikes at various enterprises in the country every day. They all arise on economic grounds, that is they are based on the demand for higher wages. It is said that half of them arise spontaneously and the other half are provoked. Irrespective of their initiators' intentions the strikes serve neither the successful completion of the "roundtable" nor the attainment of national concord. On the contrary, they merely aggravate Poland's already difficult economic position and have a pernicious effect on the process of reaching a compromise.

During my talk with M. Rakowski I asked him to predict what Poland will be like, for instance, in 5 years time.

"The transformations we are implementing," he said, "provide a real chance for the consolidation of the power of the left-wing forces headed by the PZPR. We are freeing ourselves from defeatist sentiments. We have more arguments than the opposing side."

## * Rakowski Profiled, Views Poland's Politics

*18070550 Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 Mar 89 p 3*

[Report on interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by TRUD special correspondent Yu. Vasilkov: "At a Major Turning Point"]

[Text] The book "Who's Who in Poland" was published in 1984. In it Mieczyslaw Rakowski was listed as a journalist and state and political figure. Since then his journalistic activity has obviously been "outweighed," for more than a fourth of his life was associated with the popular and influential weekly POLITYKA, where from 1958 he was the chief editor, and with thousands of brilliant articles and a number of books.

In 1981 M. Rakowski became deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, at first glance, an unexpected change. But only at first glance. Remember, that was a year of most profound crisis in Poland's postwar history. Rakowski was one of the most decisive supporters of the policy of national conciliation. That is why early in 1981 it was proposed that he become a deputy in the government, then led by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

If we could single out the "hottest" sectors at that difficult time, they were undoubtedly the trade unions, culture, education, and the scientific medium. Without exaggerating, it can be said that the discussion that developed here threatened to grow into a civil war and it was precisely those sectors that were entrusted to the new vice premier.

The story included many months of talks with the leader of "Solidarity," L. Walesa. In one interview, M. Rakowski said: "I want to emphasize that the idea of partnership was not my policy but the policy of the party and government. And if "Solidarity" rejects the outstretched hand this would be a disappointment for all who have placed their trust in them."

Today, Mieczyslaw Rakowski is again numbered among those who have initiated a decisive step toward national conciliation. In September 1988 he became chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. His cabinet put forward a whole series of initiatives designed to revive the economy, which is still experiencing serious difficulties.

If a "Who's Who" were published in Poland today, then Rakowski would most likely be named a state figure first and a journalist second. Nevertheless, he retains his "loyalty to the shop." This was how we assessed his invitation to a group of Soviet journalists to visit Warsaw to get information "from the horse's mouth" about the situation in Poland today.

Opposition to socialism has always existed in Poland and for a long time we used various methods to suppress it, Rakowski says. But life is changing. The prewar generation that had its own ideas about socialism and about the world in general is now virtually gone. World War II was an important boundary in the shaping of public awareness. The war generation became famous through examples of the highest heroism and extreme opportunism. It was all done in the name of the maintenance of life. The stakes were that high. Our generation has sometimes been able to reconcile itself to ignoble methods because it knew the price that must be paid for the pleasure of living.

Among the younger generations the barrier of fear is lower. In politics this means increasingly open expression of one's own views even if they are extreme.

Digressing for a moment from our interview with the premier, it can be said that the problem of determining the place of the opposition in Poland's political life was literally hanging in the balance. This was the result of the unique character of its historical development. Properly speaking, the agreement in August 1980 was the first attempt to do this. In his book "A Time of Hope and of Disappointment" M. Rakowski analyzes the attempts made by the PZPR to find a way to national agreement. The party was not to blame for the fact that these attempts failed.

What will happen this time?

Of course, there are no guarantees that the experiment—because what we are undertaking must be considered an experiment—will be a success, M. Rakowski says. We cannot unambiguously determine the intentions of the other side. Undoubtedly a certain contradiction does exist between the desire to reach agreement, on the one hand, and the existence of counterrevolutionary trends on the other. For it is no secret that many representatives of the opposition are announcing that what they want is the overthrow of socialism. We also know about the tactic of "creeping revolution" and the "salami" tactic—cutting off socialism slice by slice.... But we have a historic chance here and it depends only on the Poles as to how they will use it.

Rakowski makes an ironic reference to "certain comrades" who just yesterday were fulminating against the opposition but who today are ready to "chatter happily" with it. The "man of iron," as they call Walesa, has learned much in recent years, but he has remained true to himself.

As we set out on the new path, we cannot lose sight of the class view of people and events, M. Rakowski thinks. It is also a question of distinguishing in the new situation the fronts that have existed and still do exist.

The prime minister talks about the firm intention of making a major turn in economic development. Starting in December, the Sejm has passed a number of fundamental laws designed to guarantee freedom for entrepreneurial activity and the independence of enterprises. From 15 March a single currency will be introduced. At the currency exchange and at currency exchange points it will be possible to buy dollars for zlotys (and vice versa) at the actual exchange rate for the day. The intention is that this will improve the financial situation and enable enterprises and private individuals to handle their assets more efficiently. A number of other radical economic measures are also planned.

"The essence of our concept amounts to a rephrased formula of the French revolution: 'Liberty, Equality, Competition,'" the Soviet journalists were told during an interview with deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers and chairman of the economic committee, Ireneusz Sekula. "Liberty is the broad opportunities for entrepreneurship in any sector—state, cooperative, private. Equality is the same conditions in terms of credit, taxes, supplies, marketing. Competition is support for people's needs and profitability in business and the abandonment of subsidies for those incurring losses."

The main difficulties are the market imbalance, high inflation rates, and foreign debt. If we talk about trade relations with the West then here, as PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary J. Czyrek noted, all that would be required would be for the West to renounce the policy of discrimination against Poland; this would immediately improve the situation. But the hope of this happening is another matter, and not very realistic.

I personally simply do not believe that the West will change its policy toward us, says M. Rakowski. It regards Poland as a sick man who even if he is not going to die will never get well....

The talk turns again to the political reforms. They are closely associated with and dependent on the economic reforms. M. Rakowski calls the appearance of new parties a quite realistic situation in Poland's political life. In this situation a coalition between the PZPR and its traditional allies—the United Peasants' Party, the Democratic Party, and other leftist forces—will acquire special importance.

It seems to me that in the new situation it will be the saving of our party, says M. Rakowski. It will get rid of the "fat" and build up muscle. Just think: Today of the 2.2 million PZPR members, 900,000 are chiefs of various rank! That was a secret to no one: If you wanted a career, you joined the party. But now, observing the principle of coalition, less than one-third of leading posts will be available.... This means that the party will have a higher percentage of people who are steadfast and firm in their convictions.

How the changes should exert a favorable effect on the combat readiness of the PZPR was something that Central Committee secretaries J. Czyrek, S. Ciosek, and other comrades talked about in their conversations with the Soviet journalists. In any event, at the party voivod conferences that took place after the 10th plenum a certain enthusiasm could be sensed, resulting from the awareness that the party faces crucial new tasks.

How might the changes affect the Polish trade union movement? M. Rakowski answered this question for your correspondent:

According to our figures, about 600 "Solidarity" cells have been created at the enterprises, but we are not seeing any special commotion. Working people are watching the changing situation carefully. We have made it a condition that "Solidarity" should be a trade union but what will happen in reality is an open question.

With regard to the VSPS [National Trade Union Compact], it must also activate the struggle for influence in the labor collectives. Today quite sharp attacks are being made from its ranks against the party and government leadership, but we perceive this as a normal reaction. Meanwhile, the opposition is not hiding its disappointment that these "tame" trade unions (as they have always been considered) "are not obeying" the authorities.

There have been strikes recently at the enterprises. We have analyzed the nature of these strikes. They are mainly demands for higher wages. Whether these demands are met is the concern not of the government but of the management of any particular enterprise. They now handle their own assets independently. Half of the strikes have been of a "wildcat" variety, while the other half have been organized by the trade unions—either the legal trade unions or "Solidarity." And it must be said that it has been precisely the "wildcat" strikes that have been the most justified and devoid of any particular "subcontext."

What do I fear most? That individualism will not come out on top over public interests. This applies not only to the trade union movement but to all of us Poles....

In conclusion, M. Rakowski said:

I have the feeling that we Polish Communists are finally ridding ourselves of a set of defeats, and this is extremely important because we have no more irrefutable arguments to defend our positions than our enemies do. For a long time we have walked about as if we carried signs on our chests saying "Forgive me for living!" and all the time feeling so sorry for ourselves.... I believe that we are coming to the end of that period.

In order to underpin the words of the prime minister, I would like to cite several plain facts. The percentage of inflation growth was brought down to 5 points early in the year. Several thousand applications have been received from potential entrepreneurs since the law on the fundamentals of economic activity went into force. As the result of a number of measures of an economic nature, it has been possible to reduce the commodity deficit.

The fact that roundtable talks are taking place, as the Polish press describes them, in a normal and even constructive atmosphere, may also be considered an achievement.

Of course, one swallow does not make a summer. Nevertheless, there is hope that it heralds the summer....

### Hungary's Nemeth Praises Soviet Foreign Policy

*LD1703100589 Moscow TASS in English 0905 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] Budapest, March 17 TASS—The recent changes in Soviet foreign policy and approaches to questions of international security are very important, Hungarian Prime Minister, Miklos Nemeth, said during the international "Cooperation Between East and West in our Common European Home" conference in Budapest which opened on Thursday.

New political thinking and the deideologisation of international relations show that interdependence for survival has priority over the idea of class struggle, the prime minister said.

Security based on an arms race can't be real. Instead we should proceed from the idea of defence sufficiency based on arms reductions. The Soviet unilateral reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe followed by many Eastern European countries, Hungary including, is the first step in this direction. Hungary considers itself to be a disarmament zone and will work to reduce armed forces and arms on its territory and in the region, Nemeth said.

### CPSU Ideology Delegation Visits Bulgaria

*LD1603194789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] At the invitation of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, a group of CPSU party functionaries led by Comrade Ryabov, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee's ideology department, visited Bulgaria from 13-16 March. In the course of consultations, certain matters relating to a deepening of cooperation between the two parties in the spiritual sphere were discussed. They held a meeting with Comrade Yotov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

## West Europe

### * FRG Develops New Enhanced-Range Missiles

*52000034 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Rusian 16 Mar 89 p 5*

[TASS item: "Missile Being Developed]

[Text] Bonn, 15 Mar—The Bundeswehr command, together with the military-industrial complex, is working out plans to develop [sozdaniye] new air-launched enhanced-range missiles [aviatsionnyye rakety povyshennoy dalnosti], which can carry either conventional or nuclear warheads.

### FRG Admiral's 'Militarist' Comments Criticized

*LD1503205189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1117 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Igor Maslov commentary]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar (TASS)—TASS commentator Igor Maslov writes: Bundeswehr Inspector General Admiral Dieter Wellershof, who assumed the post in October 1986, has not made frequent public statements. However, his basic thesis is the strategy of "nuclear

deterrence." He has urged this "concept," in particular, at meetings of the Bundeswehr command, and so forth. However, his comments contained in an interview with STERN have astonished even Western observers who have tried their hand at anti-Soviet inventions.

To support this, let us recall some of Wellershof's assertions: The policy of peaceful coexistence and disarmament conducted by the Soviet Union since 1917 is of a "temporary character." Despite the fact that no more and no less than nearly 72 years have passed! The admiral continues: The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the "peace-loving tone" of Soviet foreign policy should not be misleading with regard to the fact that Soviet strategy is, as previously, directed at the "conduct of war." So far as the complete withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is concerned, for example, this event was welcomed by the leaders of Western countries, including the FRG. The inspector general's attention ought, it appears, to be drawn to the official documents published in the USSR, in which it is unambiguously stressed that the prevention of war is the highest goal, the core of military doctrine, and the basic function of the Soviet state and its Armed Forces.

Another aspect of the interview gives cause for alarm. Wellershof calls for the elimination of the "Pershings" to be compensated for by other nuclear weapons, which some NATO leaders currently so love to consider. In this connection, the West German news agency DPA writes: As for the question of modernization, both in Bonn and in a number of other West European capitals—Oslo, Copenhagen, Brussels, Athens, Luxembourg, and Reykjavik—it is felt that a decision on modernization would be untimely, despite Washington"s pressure on these countries. Thus, the openly militarist comments by the Bundeswehr inspector general are essentially in disagreement not only with the position of the FRG Government, but also with West Germany's other NATO allies.

It is reasonable to ask: Why did the Bundeswehr chief need to sow confusion? Evidently there are still forces in the FRG, other West European countries, and across the ocean who are uncomfortable with the process that is breaking more and more ground for itself in the sphere of disarmament and detente. A new example of this is the Vienna talks on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe and the talks on measures to strengthen trust and security, which signal an important step on the path to creating an "all-European home."

## FRG Minister on Problems in Trade With USSR

*PM1603144389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4*

[Interview with Helmut Haussmann, FRG minister of economics and cochairman of the Soviet-FRG Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation, by correspondent B. Lysenko in Moscow under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Interview": "All Kinds of Transactions Are Needed"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Helmut Haussmann, FRG federal minister of economics and cochairman of the Soviet-FRG Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation, has been in Moscow on a working visit. Before leaving, he gave an interview to your IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Lysenko] This is the first time you have been to the Soviet Union as FRG economics minister. What are your impressions from your time in Moscow and the talks you have held with Soviet representatives?

[Haussmann] Particular importance is now being given to relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG, because a session of the Soviet-FRG Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation is opening in Bonn in April. This session will discuss specific issues connected with implementing this cooperation, including the important—from our viewpoint—agreement on mutual protection of investments and the question of using the loan of DM3 billion granted the Soviet Union by Deutsche Bank. We do, of course, also intend to prepare for the visit by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to our country during this session.

[Lysenko] How do you see the dynamics of development of Soviet-West German economic cooperation since the visit to the Soviet Union by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the end of last year?

[Haussmann] There have already been successes in some areas. I think this process will accelerate in the coming months. But, as always happens, a certain element of inertia, which must be overcome in the near future, prevails at the start of new projects. I had a meeting with representatives of West German firms accredited in Moscow and drew their attention to the fact that the objectives mapped out during Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to your country must be achieved during the next 3 months (March, April, and May). This is on condition that the important prerequisites that primarily concern the working conditions of representatives of West German firms accredited in Moscow are met: For example, the provision of premises for their offices, the hire of local personnel, transport, and housing. The situation still must improve in this respect.

[Lysenko] What new features and problems do you see in the development of trade and economic cooperation between our countries?

[Haussmann] I believe the present level of economic and trade relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union still does not accord with the real economic importance of our two countries. The situation must be improved both quantitatively and qualitatively. In order to do this, we must broaden the creation of joint enterprises with small and medium firms and specialized enterprises.

Problems for West German firms are still arising in connection with the Soviet side's demand that only barter deals be concluded. We have noted with satisfaction that the Soviet political leadership is aware of this

problem, which primarily faces our small and medium firms and enterprises; they must be freed from this compulsory approach of concluding exclusively barter deals.

[Lysenko] What other specific proposals did you bring with you to Moscow in your ministerial portfolio?

[Haussmann] We reached a specific accord to complete work on a mutual protection of investments agreement. We have yet to draw up an agreement in the sphere of vocational training and improving the qualifications of economic specialists and leading cadres, which will be signed with the Soviet Union in the near future.

## Norwegian Parliamentarian Delegation Visits

### Meets General Staff's Omelichev

*PM1503150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The visit to Moscow of a delegation of the military committee of the Norwegian Storting (parliament) headed by Chairman of the Committee K.M. Fredheim is continuing. On 10 March the guests had a conversation with Colonel General B.A. Omelichev, USSR first deputy chief of the General Staff. Questions of mutual interest were discussed.

The meeting was attended on the Soviet side by A.V. Teterin, USSR ambassador to Norway, and on the Norwegian side by O. Bucher Johanessen, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR.

### Tours Kola Peninsula

*LD1603185289 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Murmansk March 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov:

K.M. Fredheim, chairman of the Military Committee of the Norwegian Storting, sees as "very promising" business contacts between "Norwegian and Soviet parliamentarians and the public. The committee's delegation he heads ended a tour of the Kola Peninsula on Thursday.

Deputies dealing with defence questions in their parliaments resumed contacts for the first time after decades of cool relations between the two neighbouring countries. The meeting on Kola soil was of a frank nature. Delegation members who included representatives of Norwegian armed forces, were shown weapons of Soviet motorised units. The guests visited a submarine ship of the North Fleet and met representatives of the Fleet Command and the Murmansk garrison. All conditions for meetings and frank talks with officers and men were created for Storting deputies and journalists from Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, Norway and Finland who came together with them to the Soviet north.

Soviet Private Erden Otorbayev asked the Norwegian delegation leader whether there was any chance to establish personal contacts between servicemen of the two armies. Fredheim expressed belief that it was quite realistic. For instance it will be possible to stage joint competitions in military-applied sports and exchange amateur art activity groups. According to the parliamentarian, the first signs of the thaw in Norwegian-Soviet relations, as well as in East-West relations, were noticeable after the Soviet-U.S. summits. The subsequent new peace initiatives by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, he noted, contributed to a greater extent to improvement in the international situation and inspired confidence in the fact that a lasting peace may and must be on the earth.

## Tolstykh Meets Swedish Finance Minister 14 Mar

*PM1603154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Reception of Minister"]

[Text] B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received Swedish Finance Minister Kjell-Olof Feldt 14 March. They discussed questions of organizing the management of scientific and technical progress and the possibilities for USSR-Swedish cooperation in this sphere.

## Turkey, USSR Bank Chiefs Discuss Ties

*TA1603104689 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 2100 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[Text] USSR State Bank Chairman Nikolay Garetovskiy expressed the Soviet Union's willingness to buy Turkish consumer goods during a meeting he held in Moscow with Turkish Central Bank Governor Rustu Saracoglu.

Pointing out that there are some difficulties in providing the necessary foreign currency for these imports, Garetovskiy added that the new Soviet economic reforms being planned envision the abolition of the monopoly on imports.

Turkish Radio and Television correspondent Atilla Caliskan reports that Saracoglu, in turn, explained that Turkey can provide certain financial arrangements for the payment of its exports to the USSR. He added that the issue will be discussed during the Turkish-Soviet Joint Economic Committee meetings to be held in Ankara on 22 March.

Measures to promote cooperation between the two countries in the fields of trade and economy were raised during the talks between the heads of the Turkish and Soviet central bank.

## Portuguese CP Chief's USSR Visit Reported

### Awarded Order of Lenin by Lukyanov

*PM1603163589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Order of Lenin for Alvaro Cunhal]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented the Order of Lenin to Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, in the Kremlin on 15 March.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, A.I. Lukyanov ardently congratulated A. Cunhal on the important award with which his services in the struggle against fascism and for social progress, peace, and democracy, and his great contribution to the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Portugal have been recognized, and also upon his 75th birthday.

Comrade Cunhal, a legendary Communist, is well known in the Soviet Union, and his contribution to strengthening ties between the Portuguese Communist Party and the CPSU is valued highly. The characteristic features of these ties are adherence by both parties to Marxism-Leninism, fraternal friendship and mutual solidarity, and the commonality of their approaches to the solution of the main international problems in the spirit of the new political thinking.

A. Cunhal expressed deep appreciation to the CPSU and Soviet state for the important award.

After the presentation of the award a cordial, comradely conversation took place between A.I. Lukyanov and A. Cunhal.

T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and other officials participated in the award ceremony.

### Views Gorbachev Meeting, Plenum

*LD1603234789 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Lisbon March 16 TASS—"My meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev took place on the eve of the plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. It is another evidence of friendship and fraternity binding the two parties for a long time," Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, said on his return to Lisbon from Moscow.

Cunhal noted that he was closely following the work of this plenary meeting, very important for the Soviet people, which initiated, according to his opinion, a new agricultural policy aimed at a radical solution of the food problem and at improvement of living standards of Soviet population. These deep-going changes are aimed at developing the socialist economy under the new conditions and on the basis of the positive experience accumulated since the October revolution.

Touching on the new electoral system in the USSR, the Portuguese Communist leader pointed out that the nomination of two and more candidates gives a chance to introduce on a larger scale democratic principles in the country's political life and to elect the most merited candidates to the supreme legislative organ of the Soviet Union. The Portuguese Communists fully back perestroyka in the USSR, added the general secretary, and believe that it is aimed not at curbing socialism, as some people in the West seek to present, but at its qualitative development.

## Finnish Foreign Minister To Visit 27-28 Mar

*LD1703100789 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] Helsinki March 17 TASS—Finnish Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. An official statement of the Finnish Foreign Ministry says that the visit will take place on March 27-28.

## Austria Choosing Cosmonaut for Mission to 'Mir'

*LD1603143189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0000 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Summary] Vienna, 16 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov reports that the search is on in Austria for the man or woman who will be the first Austrian to join Soviet cosmonauts on board the 'Mir' space station. The flight is planned for 1991-1992. Forty people have been selected from 197 candidates. Austrian universities and other scientific establishments have prepared 15 major experiments for the first Austrian to go into space.

## Gorbachev Awarded Peace Prize by Irish Group

*LD1703001989 Moscow TASS in English 257 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Dublin March 17 TASS—A ceremony of the transfer of the peace prize awarded to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for the outstanding contribution to peace and strengthening of confidence among nations, was held in Tipperary, Ireland.

Speaking on behalf of the peace council of Tipperary County which instituted the prize, Joe Quinn, the council's chairman, said that the words "glasnost" and "perestroyka" associated with April 1985 are now in the vocabularies of almost all the languages. As a result of Gorbachev's reforms people in the West came to feel confidence and sympathy for the USSR, despite differences in the socioeconomic and political systems, Joe Quinn said. The treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles signed by the leaders of the USSR and the U.S.A. has been an important breakthrough in the disarmament area, he said. The Soviet Union's decision to reduce unilaterally its armed forces and conventional armaments has become another important step on the road to a world without wars, he said.

The peace prize was accepted by USSR ambassador to Ireland, G. Uranov.

**Petrovskiy Receives UK Official Gore-Booth**
*LD1603191689 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy received for conversation on Thursday David Gore-Booth, assistant permanent undersecretary at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of Great Britain. Consultations took place on the same day between Vladimir Polyakov, member of the Soviet Foreign Ministry collegium, and David Gore-Booth.

In the course of both the conversation and the consultations the parties discussed the Middle East situation and exchanged opinions on intensifying preparations for an international conference on the Middle East settlement.

**Tolstykh Receives Luxembourg Crown Prince**
*PM1503150389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4*

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Report"]

[Text] On 10 March B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, met Crown Prince Henri of Luxembourg, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A.A. Avdeyev, USSR ambassador to Luxembourg, and Yu. Vyurt [name as transliterated], Luxembourg ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

## Latin America & Caribbean

**Latin American Foreign Ministers Discuss Debt**
*PM1603143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[Correspondent A. Cherepanov dispatch: "Debt—Everyone's Problem"]

[Text] Mexico City—The 2-day conference of foreign ministers of the Rio de Janeiro Group countries, which includes the most influential countries on the Latin American continent—Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Columbia, Peru, and Uruguay—ended with the adoption of a number of documents. The main question on the agenda was the discussion of the problem of Latin America's foreign debt.

At the end of the session the ministers published the so-called "Rio Document" formulated back in December last year in Rio de Janeiro by the finance ministers and a little later approved by these countries' presidents.

The new strategy's aim, it says in the document, is to substantially reduce the basic sum of the debt, reduce the interest repayments, and obtain new loans to develop Latin America's economy. In particular, the "Rio Document" provides for the exchange of discounted bonds on the secondary market with the assistance of the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It also refers to the intention of the continent's countries to exchange part of the debt for securities issued by the states.

The 1980's became the decade of the incessant "debt war" for the Latin American states. The overall debt of the continent's countries since 1982 increased by $100 billion and amounted to today's $420 billion. For some states the debt is equal to half their domestic national product.

The idea of uniting the efforts of the continent's countries to resolve this acute problem has gradually established itself, but with the greatest difficulty. And then in December 1986 the "Group of Eight" was born in Rio de Janeiro. In November of the following year the presidents of the "eight" (Panama, which had earlier taken part in the group's work, dropped out because of the instability of its domestic political situation), who assembled in Mexico City, worked out the so-called "Acapulco Compromise" on joint actions in the economic and political spheres. In October 1988 in the Uruguayan city of Punta del Este, a top-level decision was taken to formulate a new approach to the debt question. In Venezuela the "Rio Document" finally got a start in life. The foreign debt problem will also be discussed in detail at the coming 15 April meeting of Rio de Janeiro Group ministers and their colleagues from the EEC countries.

Recent events in Venezuela, when there were bloody clashes between the population and government troops and police over several days, were a reminder that the continuing crisis in Latin America and the huge foreign debt may lead not only to social tension but also to a social flareup.

### UN Central America Peace Conference Ends

*LD1603032189 Moscow TASS in English 0012 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] New York March 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev

A two-day conference on Central America ended at the UN headquarters on Wednesday. It discussed and approved a UN-drafted plan of setting up a control mechanism to verify the fulfillment of agreements on a political settlement in the region.

Victor Hugo Tinoco, head of the Nicaraguan delegation and first deputy foreign minister, told journalists after the end of the conference that the draft was backed by all conference participants. This move should be followed by a meeting of foreign ministers of five Central American states in San Jose, which will officially approve this plan and compile a letter to the UN secretary-general with a request to set up a group of UN observers provided for by the draft.

Tinoco described the results of the conference at the UN headquarters as a victory of Central American nations, which improves prospects for creating political stability in the region. The first deputy minister also noted that the U.S. should take into account the will and desire of Central American peoples for peace. Nowadays some people in Washington are concerned over "how to keep afloat contras while Central America dreams of peace", he pointed out.

According to the UN secretary-general spokesman, the plan deals with all aspects of the control mechanism. It will be needed to verify obligations concerning a ceasefire, non-admission of the use of the territory of one country for an attack on others and discontinuation of aid to irregulars and insurgent movements.

### Nicaragua Requests UN Observers for Elections

*LD1603202689 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] New York March 16 TASS—Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockman has officially approached UN secretary-general with the request to send UN observers to monitor the election process in Nicaragua during the entire period leading up to the parliamentary and presidential elections on February 25, 1990, a spokesman for UN secretary-general said on Thursday.

Nicaragua's request is thoroughly studied at the United Nations in all its aspects. According to the spokesman, until now the United Nations had monitored elections only in decolonisation cases, for instance, referendums on self-determination.

Commenting on the results of the conference on Central America to discuss a confidential plan to set up a mechanism to monitor the fulfillment of the Guatemalan Agreement signed by five Central American presidents, which drew to an end at the UN headquarters on Wednesday, he noted that it passed in a cordial and businesslike atmosphere and resulted in harmonising many provisions. So, foreign ministers of Central American countries can now make an official request for forming this mechanism at a meeting due to take place in Costa Rica late in March.

On the basis of this request, UN secretary-general will send a fact-finding mission to the region so as then to submit a proposal for setting up an international monitoring mechanism to the Security Council.

### Panamanian Opposition 'Loyal Ally' of U.S.

*LD1303114889 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT 13 Mar 89*

[Text] Panama March 13 TASS—Washington has obtained a loyal ally in the opposition circles of Panama, which not only approve of the American economic sanctions against that country, but call for a military intervention, it was stated by Carlos Duque, presidential candidate from the Progressive Coalition of National Liberation. He said that the United States was rendering political, financial and economic assistance to the right-wing forces.

The Democratic Opposition Alliance of Panama has drawn up a "black list" of progressive political leaders of the country, who will be prosecuted if the Alliance wins the May 7th general elections. The newspaper LA REPUBLICA, which got hold of this document, reports that the 100 odd names listed in it included former and present ministers, vice presidents and presidents. Furthermore, it includes leaders of different political parties and movements, heads of state institutions and enterprises, members of the country's military leadership.

The newspaper stresses particularly that the listed include only people who held responsible posts in different cabinets starting from 1968. This is eloquent proof of the fact that the opposition wishes to get even with those who had deprived it of power on October 11, 1968, as a result of actions taken by patriotically-minded officers led by General Omar Torrijos. It goes without saying, LA REPUBLICA notes, that the "black list" was approved in the corridors of the White House, which will take on the alliance at the forthcoming Panamanian elections. In the event of its victory, some leaders of the right-wing

opposition will be prepared to revise the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977 so that the Pentagon's war bases in that strategically important region would remain there after the year 2000, too.

## CPSU Greets Dominican Communist Congress

*LD1703033589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has sent a message to the delegates of the fourth congress of the Dominican Communist Party and to all Communists in the Dominican Republic. The telegram says:

At the current watershed stage in history, the Communists of various countries seek a response to the challenge of the times and are determining the optimal ways of struggling for the ideals of socialism. Your party is firmly defending the interests of the working people and advocates the independent, democratic development of the country. It is the cause of one and all to save civilization from nuclear annihilation and to provide a peaceful and secure future for humanity. The CPSU Central Committee wishes the congress of the Dominican Communist Party fruitful work.

## Political & Social

### More on CPSU Central Committee Agriculture Plenum

### PRAVDA Publishes Gorbachev Speech

*PM1603120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1-4*

["On CPSU Agrarian Policy Under Modern Conditions. Report by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at 15 March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Comrades!

Our society has great expectations of the current plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

The plenum is to work out and offer the nation an agrarian policy that will be able to restore the peasant as the master on the land and dependably resolve the food problem.

Further delay in this matter is simply inadmissible. This is dictated by the real situation in the country and by the general tasks of restructuring.

We need an agrarian policy that will secure radical changes in rural development—political, economic, social and cultural—and the solution within the shortest possible time of problems that have accumulated in one of the basic spheres of our life, thus giving free scope for the initiative of the rural workers.

I.

When talking about agrarian policy, we mean the entirety of ideas, aims, ways and means of shaping and regulating relations between town and village, and in the village itself, with top priority given to the solution of the food issue.

Agrarian changes are inseparable from the current political and economic reforms aimed at meeting diverse requirements of the individual and encouraging his labor and social activity.

Without the revolutionary renewal of our society's life, without democratization and a new ideology of economic management, it is impossible to create a highly efficient agrarian sector. Precisely in the same way, drastic changes in the countryside are an essential prerequisite for the country's economic and social progress.

In other words, the present-day agrarian policy is not something narrowly specific, is not departmental or sectorial in nature.

It is now the main direction of our entire political course, an organic part of revolutionary restructuring.

In the final analysis, the elaboration of a modern agrarian policy is inseparable from the formation of new notions about socialism on the whole and its social and economic prospects.

As is known, preparations for the plenum began long ago. Agrarian issues have and still are being extensively and comprehensively discussed in the party, within scientific circles, among specialists. There is no need to say more, comrades—these vital issues have been discussed by the entire country.

The Politburo has not only attentively followed this discussion, that we all need very much, but encouraged it in all ways and sought to foster a creative, business-like atmosphere in order to see as deeply as possible into the essence of the complicated problems we will have to handle.

Ample material comprising diverse judgements, proposals and viewpoints, sometimes directly opposite, has been analyzed.

I think it will be correct to say that the report at this plenum and the drafts of corresponding documents that you have constitute a specific result of the all-party, all-nation discussion.

At this plenary meeting of the Central Committee, we count on a profound, constructive discussion of theoretical, political and practical issues in order to work out a long-term, scientifically substantiated agrarian policy meeting society's growing requirements.

We all remember the concern expressed by delegates to the 19th national party conference when discussing the food supply situation in the country. We described this problem as our society's biggest wound.

Great concern over the issue was voiced at recent party report-and-election meetings and conferences.

Working people held spirited discussions on these issues at this stage as well, during the election campaign.

The reality is such that we experience shortages of farming produce. The state has to buy large quantities of grain, meat, fruits, vegetables, sugar, vegetable oil and some other staples abroad.

We are still behind developed countries, big and small, in labor efficiency, yield capacity and live-stock productivity, and in the diversity and quality of foodstuffs. The gap is widening, rather than narrowing.

The shortage of food creates social tension and generates not merely criticism, but actual discontent.

This situation with food supplies has continued for many years.

One should not think that we did not see those problems and did not handle them. I would say that there is not a single problem in the national economy which has had more attention from the Central Committee and the Government than the agrarian one.

The agrarian sector received many resources, including capital investment, machinery and mineral fertilizers, over the past two decades. A large-scale programme to improve the land has been carried out.

But we failed to obtain either the returns on which we had counted or the increment which we had expected from the measures adopted.

So far, we have been unable to find a radical solution to the food problem despite the fact that the country possesses great potential.

The state of affairs with the preservation and rational use of land, our main national wealth, is extremely unsatisfactory.

Twenty two million hectares of farmland have been lost in the past 25 years. Twelve million hectares of that area were used for industrial construction and roads, and more than six million hectares were neglected, to be overgrown with shrubs.

At the same time, huge sums of money were channeled to develop millions of hectares of new land.

The fertility of fields is declining in most regions. More than three million hectares of irrigated land—the "Golden fund" in each state—have practically dropped out of cultivation due to mismanagement.

It is worth adding that the country has lost more than ten million hectares of flood meadows and pastures during the past two decades due to construction of hydroelectric power stations.

The huge losses of agricultural produce are also disturbing. Mismanagement is responsible for the loss of up to 20 per cent of everything raised in the countryside. The figures for some products are even higher—30-40 per cent.

The countryside lags far behind urban areas in social and cultural development.

Lack of good roads is a problem in all regions. It is a sheer disaster in the Non-Chernozem Zone. Provision of the countryside with well-appointed housing, communal services, schools, medical and cultural institutions is beneath criticism.

Sometimes one has to travel scores and even hundreds of kilometers to get the most urgent things done—receive medical assistance, benefit by elementary services or buy primitive necessities.

I do not wish to arouse passions, but it ought nevertheless to be said that the situation is so grave in many regions that people are deserting the land, moving out of villages. Migration of the rural population has reached a critical level in several regions of the country.

What is the matter? Why didn't our measures, including some very serious ones, yield the desired results; why didn't they make the necessary changes in the countryside?

This is the main question that has to be answered. We must get to the bottom of it, uncover the roots of the current distressing predicament in our countryside and in the country's food supply. We must find ways of solving it.

It is useful to refer to history for this purpose, to look at our approaches to agrarian policy at various stages of our society's development and to draw lessons for our future efforts.

II.

The peasant problem has always been center stage in our party's policy, both from the point of view of revolutionary theory and the task of building a new society.

The agrarian policy, elaborated by the party, and the huge practical efforts of Bolsheviks in the countryside, are responsible for the fact that the peasant masses had sided with the revolution and with the working class in October 1917.

One of the first decrees issued by the soviet power—the Decree on Land—was an expression of this policy. It settled the land problem from positions of the working peasantry at large.

Even in the grim years of the civil war, in its most critical periods, the party did not lose sight of the situation in the countryside, of the problem of working class' alliance with the peasantry.

Transition to the New Economic Policy [NEP] was dictated precisely by the interests of safeguarding this alliance, of upholding revolutionary achievements.

The party's agrarian policy during the NEP period envisaged:
—substitution of a tax in kind for the requisitioning of food, which limited the volume of products that could be taken away from peasant households,
—free trade,
—extensive development of the cooperative movement,
—land renting and hired labor within definite limits,
—state regulation of the economy by means of prices, taxes and credits,
—development of the contract system,
—gradual adjustment of equivalent exchange between town and countryside,

—priority restoration and development of agriculture as a necessary precondition for raising people's living standards and for the country's industrialization.

The new economic policy stemmed logically from the objective development of the revolutionary process and was conceived "in all earnestness and for a long period to come." It was based on the grassroots initiative, on democracy, cost-accounting and diverse forms of cooperation.

This road to socialism was accessible and the most understandable for the peasantry.

And it yielded prompt results. The level of production attained before the First World War was reached again in 1925 as regards many goods.

In 1927 the country had scores of thousands of agricultural associations and cooperatives, including 6.3 thousand land cultivation associations, and 8.5 thousand cartels and communes.

The peasants joined together in consumer societies. Consumer cooperatives became important commercial intermediaries between farmers as producers, and urban dwellers as consumers.

More than half of the entire volume of retail trade was handled by consumer cooperatives in 1926-1927. They accounted for a substantial part of the grain, meat, eggs, flax and many other products procured from the peasantry.

The system of contracts concluded by state and cooperative organizations with peasant households was appreciably developed in the second half of the twenties. Such contracts provided also for the delivery of means of production and for agro-technical assistance to peasant households.

This in itself was a big step to developing economic relations, since it restricted market anarchy and projected contours of a mechanism for exerting planned influence on the production, processing and marketing of agricultural produce.

All in all, implementation of the New Economic Policy confirmed the correctness of V.I. Lenin's economic management principles and methods, his evaluation of the role of cooperation and of trade exchange with the peasantry as the "economic foundation of socialism."

But in the second half of the 1920's the New Economic Policy encountered a number of difficulties and contradictions brought on by the complicated state of the national economy. Industry was weak, and it could not provide the peasants with a sufficient number of necessary goods.

As a result, the development of agriculture was increasingly curbed by the limited material and technical possibilities.

The state of the material and technical basis is illustrated in particular by the following figures:

In 1928, more than 70 per cent of areas under spring crops were sown by hand, about 45 per cent of all cereals were harvested by means of sickles and scythes, and more than 40 per cent of the entire harvest was threshed by means of flails and windrowers.

With such a material and technical basis the impact of market relations began to weaken and the agricultural production rate slowed down.

Meanwhile the large-scale work to implement industrialization plans required more and more material, labor and financial resources.

The urban population increased by approximately four percent a year. The money incomes of the working people and their effective demand grew rapidly. People in towns began to experience a shortage of bread and other foodstuffs. Rationing had to be introduced.

A crisis situation made itself felt in the country. Questions concerning ways of further development, the destiny of industrialization, and solutions to the food problem arose very acutely. They were assuming a special political coloring and, I would say, an emergency character.

All that affected the fundamental question—that of the alliance between the working class and peasantry and the attitudes to the peasantry.

At that crucial stage of our history the country's leadership did not take the road of a search for economic methods to solve problems and contradictions, and the elaboration of an economic policy suited to the new conditions and based on Leninist principles and on NEP experience, but rather a different, diametrically opposite road—that of curtailing NEP and commodity-money relations, belittling the role of material incentives for work, and applying command and administrative approaches to resolving social and economic tasks.

With regard to the peasantry, Stalin and his very close entourage virtually implemented the Trotskiy-Preobrazhenskiy concept of "primary socialist accumulation," which they themselves had criticized, by means of transferring resources from agriculture to industry, which was virtually not paid for. In effect they also employed the Zinovyev-Kamenev idea of extraordinary taxation of the prosperous strata of the countryside.

The peasants' natural discontent brought on by all those actions was interpreted as a sort of sabotage. This was used as a justification for the need to apply repressive measures.

In the final analysis, such an approach resulted in a serious strategic miscalculation and departure from Marxist views and notions concerning ways of solving the agrarian-peasant question.

It could be recalled in this respect that the founders of Marxism resolutely rejected the idea of expropriating the peasant economy, and regarded it as "extremely reactionary and ruinous for socialist transformations."

Way back in 1894 Friedrich Engels wrote: 'When possessing state power, we would not even think of forcibly expropriating small peasants. Our task in regard to small peasants is first of all to turn their private production and their property into partnership, not forcibly but through example, offering social assitance with this end in view. In this sense we may consequently be highly liberal with regard to peasants.'

For Lenin, 'a whole historical epoch is required' for organizing peasants into cooperatives.

Taking this into consideration, Lenin formulated such basic principles of socialist reorganization of the peasant economy as voluntary participation and its gradual character; the inadmissibility of any measures of coercion whatsoever during peasants' transition to a collective agricultural production, taking their interests into account together with the interests of the entire society; and a large-scale utilization of various forms of cooperatives, with material and technical assistance on the part of the state.

The agrarian program and policy of the Bolshevik party was being formed on these principles.

Speaking of command-and-administer approaches in attitudes to the peasantry, one should admit that they mainifested themselves in their ugliest form in forcible methods, the speeded-up pace of complete collectivization of agriculture, and voluntarist intervention in the processes of production, exchange and distribution.

Methods of extra-economic coercion of the 'war communism' times were revived in the agrarian sector. The individual's aspiration to be a master on his own land—the aspiration which had been legislatively recognized way back by the Decree on Land—was declared to be a leftover of the private owner mentality.

The entire diversity of land management techniques was practically reduced to one form. Any economic independence of kolkhozes and sovkhozes was ruled out and their members were put in the position of day laborers.

The democratic institutions were curtailed: The kolkhoz center, kolkhoz unions, and many types of cooperatives were abolished, and a ramified bureaucratic apparatus came to dominate kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the peasantry.

As a result, tremendous damage was inflicted upon agriculture. The cattle stock dwindled, the output of farm products was sharply diminished, the provisions of towns with food deteriorated, and consumption in villages decreased. In 1932-1933 famine even broke out in a number of places, owing to these causes as well as drought.

Combined with the disturbance of commodity-money exchanges, the normal functioning of the economy as a whole was seriously disrupted. The agricultural production level achieved by the beginning of collectivization was exceeded only twice in pre-war years—in 1937 and in 1940.

Evaluating the events of those years, we are also obliged to speak about human tragedy. In the process of combatting the kulaks, violence was inflicted upon the huge mass of middle-strata peasants and even poor ones.

Million of peasants, together with their families, were torn away from their land plots and native areas and suffered misfortunes, often dying in camps and exile.

The most flagrant departures from the Leninist course in the Agrarian sphere led to great social, economic, and ethical costs.

The replacement of relations with peasants based on goods exchanges and mutual profit by those of diktat signified not only an upheaval in agrarian policy, but also brought about a fundamentally new political and social situation in the country.

This and the voluntaristic methods of management in industry formed for the most part the administrative and command system of managing society on the whole.

In the concrete historical situation which arose out of the specific internal and external factors of the time, the forces which ignored the objective laws of societal development and gravitated towards the "military-communist" methods of building a new society took the upper hand.

A simplified view of socialism was spread among the masses, and it was alleged that it would be built in a short period of time—two to three five-year periods at the maximum.

These views formed the basis for the political course of forced industrialization, of rapid reorganization of the entire peasantry along the lines of the proletariat, and of conversion of the small scale peasant economy into a special system of large-scale factories of industrial type.

While noting the erroneousness of the approaches to collectivization, I would like to stress nevertheless that it would be wrong to deny on this basis the need for

socialist transformations in the countryside, just as it would have been illegitimate to draw conclusions about the inefficiency of the kolkhoz system.

No, there are huge potentialities inherent in the collective system, which could be fully unfolded and yield remarkable results only with correct economic relations.

The experience of thousands upon thousands of front-ranking farms in our country and other socialist countries confirms this.

In subsequent years much experience suggested eliminating the impeding factors that were created as a result of rigid regulation of the economic activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, renouncing command methods in the management of the agrarian sector, and restoring Lenin's principles of relations with the peasantry. But that was not done.

The war inflicted a most severe blow on the country's agriculture. The productive forces in agriculture, at a low level as they were, were seriously undermined.

Before the war our country remained largely a peasant country. Therefore when we speak about the feat of Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, we have to pay tribute to the feat of peasants, that of labor—the provision of foodstuffs for the Army and workers of the rear—and that of arms. Millions of peasants' sons fell on the battlefield defending their motherland.

For the sake of objectivity it should be said that major steps were taken in the post-war years to restore agriculture in the war-ravaged regions of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic area.

But a new agrarian policy, which the countryside so needed, was not elaborated.

Moreover, the command mechanisms, ways of pumping resources out of the countryside, and the disdainful attitude to the conditions of life of rural workers not only did not weaken, but became even more sophisticated.

On the basis of the unbalanced exchange huge resources were taken out of the countryside.

For example, in 1946-1953 agriculture produced 298 billion rubles' worth of national income (the figure also includes the portion which was used in other sectors), of which only 193 billion rubles were used in agriculture (the figure takes into account the share of agriculture in the total state expenditure). This means that 105 billion rubles were reallocated from agriculture into other sectors of the economy.

Remuneration for the work of collective farmers was, in fact, rather symbolical. They had to live mainly by their small-holdings, on which exorbitant taxes were imposed. Every peasant homestead had to pay taxes on land and give to the state—often irrespective of whether it was within its ability—a fixed quantity of meat, milk, eggs, wool and other products.

Things often went to absurd lengths. As is known, a tax was even imposed on each fruit tree, no matter whether it yielded fruit or not.

The disdainful attitude to the collective farmers also manifested itself in the fact that they were not entitled to pensions. They had no passports and could not leave their villages without permission.

After 1953, major economic, political and organisational measures were taken to strengthen agriculture.

In accordance with the decisions of the September 1953 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, more realistic purchasing prices for farm produce were introduced, the principle of planning from below was declared, and tax policy was regulated.

Material incentives for rural workers increased, pensions were introduced, and the limitations of the passport system were lifted. The kolkhozes received the right to make changes in their statutes to reflect local conditions. A large-scale program to open up 42 million hectares of virgin and fallow lands was implemented.

These measures started to bear fruit as agriculture began to move forward at rather rapid rates.

On the whole the growth of agricultural production amounted to 34 percent in the five years after 1953 as compared with the previous five-year period. Intensive factors came to have a greater impact on the results of management.

The process of restoring health to the economy of the kolkhozes was under way. Cash incomes per homestead increased by 130 per cent in 1957 as compared with 1952, and farmers were paid three times more for one day's work.

The elaboration and implementation of an agrarian policy that corresponded to the new stage of the country's development was marked by keen ideological and political struggle with the conservative forces. Nevertheless really major steps forward were made.

But unjustified interference in the activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the foisting of all manner of directives on them by central authorities, and unwarranted reorganisation drives soon resumed.

Systematic increases in the prices of building materials and other producer goods needed in agriculture, and machine and tractor stations' sales of machinery to

kolkhozes at high prices, adversely affected the economic position of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, undermined the process of expanded reproduction, and led once again to unequal exchange.

What was effectively a leftist concept for the decay of subsidiary small-holdings, which, it alleged, hindered the affirmation of socialist relations in the country side, began to be followed.

The policy of eliminating so-called unpromising villages was also stepped up.

All this resulted, in the final analysis, in declining agricultural production growth rates, a dramatically aggravated grain problem, and worse food supplies.

Another attempt to develop an effective agrarian policy was launched at the party Central Committee's plenum in March 1965.

In keeping with its decisions, measures were taken to redistribute national income in favor of farming, tackle villages' social problems on a larger scale, employ economic methods to develop the agrarian sector, and intensify production on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The purchase prices of farm produce were raised.

The measures were supported by the farming community and boosted the countryside's economic activity. The 8th 5-year Plan period, as you know, proved fairly successful in all performance indicators.

But the decisions of the March plenum were not fulfilled either, and the course charted by it was later seriously twisted.

The economic conditions of management were sapped by increasing unbalanced exchanges between town and country. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes were deprived of the possibility of earning needed funds; this affected their economic position negatively.

As a result, both kolkhozes and sovkhozes ended up, on the whole, in the red by 1980, although in 1970 the overall profit rate of sovkhozes amounted to 22 percent, and that of kolkhozes 34 per cent.

In the late 1960's and the early 1970's an attempt was undertaken to solve problems of agriculture by widely promoting interfarm cooperative arrangements and creating agro-industrial enterprises and amalgamations.

But even these measures, which in principle were right, were, in the way they were proposed, divorced from the real situation.

A considerable part of the money funneled to the countryside was spent on costly construction projects and thus converted into "walls" rather than greater soil fertility, machines, and better social amenities in villages.

In the final analysis, the expenses often brought heavy losses instead of the expected economic benefits.

Unregulated economic relations in the agrarian sector, continuing outdated methods of economic management, and bad mistakes in the way labor was organised and paid seriously weakened financial motivation for rural workers.

In this situation even guaranteed pay for farmers' work—which in itself was an important social gain at the time—spawned increased parasitic attitudes, since it wasn't pegged to the ultimate results of production.

The social backwardness in the country increased the migration to towns.

In a word, farming, the whole agrarian sector, and all our economy in general found themselves by the beginning of the 1980's in a state that cried out for emergency measures.

It was decided in this situation to work out a Food Program which was then endorsed by the May 1982 Central Committee plenum.

In this way it proved possible somehow to arrest the gathering crisis and even to improve the situation in agriculture. You know data on this score. But the decisions of the May plenum bore also the imprint of their time and were compromise half-measures by nature.

An in-depth analysis of the nation's economic development, which was made at the April 1985 and subsequent Central Committee plenums, the 27th congress, and the 19th party conference, and a critical view of the state of affairs in the food sector make it imperative today to examine the entire package of agrarian problems anew.

What are the main lessons to be learnt from explaining and assessing the past? What is to be taken into account when working out agrarian policy in the period of restructuring?

First of all, we must draw a general conclusion. It is that Lenin's concept of revolutionary socialist change remains ever relevant, and that it is inadmissible to deform it.

The greatest damage to the cause of socialism was done by burying Lenin's underlying idea of socialism as the vital creative activity of the masses.

The new society is being built in the name of working people's interests and by working people themselves. This presupposes extensive public involvement in all processes of transformation, the all-around extension of democracy, and the affirmation of principles of popular government and self-administration.

No social change, regardless of how noble the slogans behind it, can be effected contrary to the interests of the masses and without their direct participation.

While being recognized in word, these fundamental ideas by Lenin were in fact ignored and replaced by command-and-administer methods.

This tremendously hurt the entire social development of the country and seriously distorted the activities of political institutions. Departures from Lenin's concept for building socialism were especially harmful for the situation in the countryside.

Both theory and practice prove that agrarian policy can become, and indeed is, one of the more important factors for consolidating and furthering socialist change, if it correctly reflects the needs of social development and the interests of the working class and farmers.

By contrast, if agrarian policy allows these interests to clash, it not only undermines agriculture but also engenders serious difficulties in the development of all society.

This is, comrades, the general, basic conclusion. But we should also draw more specific lessons in order to develop an up-to-date agrarian policy.

First, the entire experience of socialist change in the countryside, with all the achievements, accomplishments and enormous losses, corroborates Lenin's overriding idea that agrarian policy should be geared to forging such relations of production and such forms of economic managments as would firmly assure the farmer of the master's position on land.

Second, both the agrarian sector and society as a whole cannot develop successfully without economically viable and fair relations between town and country, between the agrarian and the other economic sectors. Any imbalance in this respect has serious implications.

This conclusion is not only economically and socially but also politically significant, as the matter at issue is an alliance of the working class and the farming community, and the fate of socialism.

Third, the need for democratic methods for managing the economy and all social processes stems from the very substance of the socialist system.

It follows from this that the command-and-administer system is unacceptable. Its methods are all the more intolerable in agriculture, which deals in land and very diverse natural and climatic conditions.

Fourth, it is very important to see the vibrant dialectics of production relations and productive forces in the countryside.

While giving priority to radical restructuring of economic relations in various branches of the agro-industrial sector, we should not forget about developing its material and technological foundation, especially now that the scientific and technological revolution is spreading to all spheres of material production, including agriculture.

Fifth, a most important lesson that we, comrades, should learn well is that disregard for rural workers' working and living conditions is inadmissible.

The agrarian policy we are now working out should concentrate on a genuine revival of the village so that farmers and agricultural work will be given their due in society. This is not only a crucial social and economic need but also, I would say, our moral duty.

Without drastically changing the position of farmers in society one cannot seriously expect to solve production issues and the food problem. Concern for rural dwellers is at the center of our current agrarian policy.

Such are some of the lessons of history and some of the principal conclusions that can be drawn from them.

III.

Comrades, we should work out an agrarian policy that would enable us to blunt the sharp edge of the food problem in the immediate future and to grow enough farm produce, in terms of both amount and choice, to stabilize food supplies in the 13th Five-Year Plan period.

Following the new agrarian policy, we should make major social and economic changes in the countryside, and reach modern standards in agricultural production and in the transportation, storage and processing of farm produce, which will be an important factor for the harmonious development of the entire economy.

This is the paramount social, economic and political task confronting the party and all society.

It is natural to ask: Which agricultural production levels should we reach and what resources will be needed for this?

The documents handed out to you list proposals on this score. It is extremely important and essential to reach the targets specified there. But I think that at this plenum we should concentrate on searching for ways, and drawing up a package of practical measures, to do this.

The Politburo believes that the key issue of modern agrarian policy is that of fundamentally reorganizing economic relations in the countryside.

I would like to stress this once again as debates leading up to the plenum have demonstrated that some people seriously undrestimate how timely and important it is to choose the ways and means of reaching our formulated objectives.

One of the most entrenched opinions is that providing the countryside with more machines, fertilizer, building materials, and capital outlays, and accelerating land improvement efforts, will by themselves be enough to solve all the problems.

The village does need much and we must give it much. It is hard to challenge this.

Nevertheless, an analysis of history and the experience of the past few years of restructuring offer compelling evidence that if we opt for this as the mainstay of agrarian policy, we shall make a serious mistake.

This is because huge capital and other investments have been made in agriculture over recent years, but the inputs have failed to yield equally substantial results.

This has been characteristic not only of such a difficult region, with challenging conditions, as the Non-Chernozem Zone in the Russian federation.

Let's take a look at the Ukraine. Over the past 20 years basic production assets in its agriculture have increased by 320 percent, fertilizer supplies have trebled, and farmers' pay has increased by 170 percent, while agricultural output has grown by just 39 percent.

We talk about the well-deserved achievements of advanced farms in the Baltic constituent republics. But a similar trend is in evidence there as well. Over the past 20 years basic production assets in farming have increased in Lithuania almost fivefold, in Latvia by 3.8 times and in Estonia by 4.1 times.

Gross agricultural output grew respectively: in Lithuania by 45 percent, in Latvia by 39 percent, and in Estonia by 33 percent.

The cost of main types of produce increased on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in these republics: for instance, of livestock gain by 2-2.3 times, of pig gain by 1.6-1.7 times, of milk by 1.6-1.8 times, and of vegetables by 1.6- 2.2 times.

There was a similar situation in the union republics of Central Asia. In Uzbekistan, for instance, 1.6 million hectares of irrigated land have been put to use in the past twenty years, main production assets in agriculture increased sixfold, while gross output went up by 78 per cent.

The fact that similar trends are manifested in regions with different agricultural conditions show that the root cause does not lie in the limitation of material and technical resources, but goes far deeper.

Comrades, we should give up as soon as possible the old, customary, and probably even convenient stereotypes. It is necessary to realize as quickly as possible that without a drastic change in economic relations and social conditions in the countryside, neither capital investment nor machinery will start working.

This conclusion stems not only from negative lessons of the past, but also from the contemporary experience of front-rank farms. Their accomplishments have become possible primarily thanks to the use of new economic approaches, greater material incentives, and concern for and care of the individual.

The essence of economic change in the countryside should be in granting farmers broad opportunities for displaying independence, enterprise, and initiative.

We should resolutely overcome the alienation of rural workers (and, by the way, all working people) from property that still belongs to them only formally.

It is necessary to radically change forms of the exercise of the rights of the socialist owner, through the extensive use of diverse forms of economic management and relations of cost accountancy.

The restructuring of economic relations in the countryside demands the revision, in theory and in practice, of existing views on socialist ownership.

The entrenched division of ownership by artificial criteria into higher and lower forms—into consistently and inconsistently socialist forms—largely determined the dogmatic approaches to the choice of forms of economic managment and administrative organization and resulted in major failings.

The point at issue today is to recognize the equality of various forms of socialist ownership of the means of production and of economic management based on them.

We should ensure broad scope for the most diverse forms of economic management—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, agricultural firms, and integrated plants [agrokombinty], peasants' farms and personal subsidiary holdings, agricultural workshops of industrial, construction and other non-agrarian enterprises, auxiliary businesses, and so on.

It is necessary to adopt a new approach to family and individual peasants' work. Like cooperation, its rights must be restored. This, in particular, refers to commodity- producing peasant farms based on their individual labor.

And, of course, we must fully restore the rights of personal subsidiary holdings of the working people.

All the economic forms can closely interact within the social and economic structure of our society, compete among themselves, complement one another and prove by deeds their efficiency and potential.

The most important thing is that the new mechanism of economic management, cooperation, and leasing should fully reveal the immense potential intrinsic in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and put into effect what was conceived during the transition to collective forms of work.

What is the main way to resolve this task? In essence we need to comprehensively democratize economic life to enable a radical transformation of the structure of kolkhozes by turning them into the last word in cooperatives. Essentially the same approach is applicable to sovkhozes.

Time will naturally be required to implement our plan on restructuring economic relations and securing a broad diversity of forms of economic management in the countryside. Let us not simplify the task, as we are initiating a radical change in the entire way of rural life.

Promoting lease-based relations in the country is one of the most important and, probably, most decisive ways at this stage to restructure socialist ownership relations.

It is through lease-holding that it is possible to implement in full Lenin's idea of drawing on personal interest, restoring the sense of being one's own master, and encouraging creative possibilities.

A discussion is under way in society on issues of lease-holding. The range of views is very wide. Many managers of front-rank kolkhozes and sovkhozes, while expressing in principle positive views about leasing, believe that their farms can make do without it.

These farms are known to have attained a high level of returns on the land and assets; they make extensive use of the potentialities offered by cost accountancy.

This is correct. But one should look into the future. All collectives, including the best ones, must seek ways to increase production and enhance its efficiency.

To be blunt, advancement towards new frontiers will become increasingly complicated, and traditional methods clearly won't suffice.

Even with this situation, I would not reject lease contracts. But, as the saying goes, let life say its decisive word. I think that a decision on this question should be taken by the work force of our front-rank kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

There is another, I would say, directly opposite opinion on lease-based relations and the fate of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the whole.

I am convinced, though, that the majority of specialists will find their place as the new relations are established in the country, because these relations enable them to reveal their capabilities more fully and derive professional satisfaction, not to mention material incentives.

Leasing is also received with caution by that part of collective farmers and workers who have lost, over many years, the habit of working conscientiously, and got used to steady incomes irrespective of the end results of their work.

We must give this up; otherwise we will not make progress. The real way forward here is to switch to payment by results. This will immediately put many things in order.

In resolving all issues connected with the transition to lease contract, mindful of past experience, we should strictly comply with Leninist principles, above all the principle of voluntary participation. Let us not fix assignments, let us not set deadlines.

If the plenum backs the elaborated proposals of the Politburo, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Government, we shall ensure [illegible]

In this connection I would like to stress the need for using diverse forms of leasing.

Not only kolkhozes and sovkhozes, agricultural firms and integrated plants and their units, but also individual families can work on these terms. They are able to develop neglected lands and small farms, especially in regions of the Russian Federation's Non-Chernozem Zone, in Belorussia, and in the Baltic region.

Use of sharing and joint-stock principles should not be excluded from economic practice. In other words, there is much room for initiative here.

But in any case, it is necessary to clearly define the rights and duties of lease-holders and lease-givers, principles of their work, formation of lease-based and joint-stock relations within the framework of collective and individual ownership, and the place and role of these forms of ownership in the overall system of socialist relations of production.

The point at issue here is the transfer of land and other means of production to lease holders, their real control over them, including the [illegible] of the land, the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] a contract, and so on.

The lease-holder shall pay the state a corresponding tax for use of the land, bear strict responsibility for the preservation and quality of the section leased, and meet commitments under the contract exactly.

It is important to make a new and, I would say, decisive transition from the establishment of individual collectives operating on a lease contract to the operation of all units of the farm on lease principles—to their spread to interrelated on-farm cycles.

It is extremely important to prevent the idea from being distorted, to not allow attempts to pass off as the lease system various forms of economic management that either deform the basic principles of leaseholding, or have nothing to do with them altogether.

Any attempts at putting co-ops into the hands of the state, and any administrative interference in the affairs of production collectives, must be resolutely ruled out.

The restructuring of the forms of property entails changes in economic relations between town and country, and between different economic sectors on the basis of the continued spread of commodity-money relations.

[illegible] we are for [illegible] in copper ware of marketable products. We shall accordingly come to [illegible]

It is perfectly obvious that all kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and leasing collectives have to pay their own way. This will make them produce more and better farm produce at lower cost.

And then we shall get an opportunity to purchase the kinds of products we need, and in the amount we need, in order to shape state foodstocks.

But this is the future. A period of transition is certainly unavoidable between the present situation, from which we start the advance, and the times when the new economic mechanism moves into gear. Various forms, including state orders, are to be used during the period of transition.

Measures suiting the tasks of the period of transition are proposed in the documents circulated among you.

I would like to call your attention to state orders. Recognizing their necessity at the present stage, care should be taken that state orders should not turn into a veiled form of pressure methods of state purchases, well known in the past.

We are certainly for discipline of purchases. But it should be [illegible] of mutual responsibility of the parties, with economic responsibility of producers and purchasing organizations.

Forward contracting, aimed of course on the mutual interest of the producer and the purchasing organization, is designed to play its role here, too.

This being so, the following principle should be immediately registered in law: After fulfilling contractual obligations, the producer markets the remaining products the way he chooses—to purchasing or trading organizations, processing enterprises, consumers' cooperative societies, at kolkhoz markets, or in public catering.

The question, naturally, suggests itself: Why is a period of transition needed, and what problems should be resolved over this period?

It is needed objectively because of the present state of the economy, finance, money circulation, and the situation in the home market. It is also associated with the need for making a price reform.

We must do a great deal in all these important areas of social life. We must change the situation for the better. As a matter of fact, this is the purpose of a radical economic reform, which includes a price reform.

At present, in all cases, even the most modern enterprise is unable to carry out its task [illegible]

Relations between prices in agriculture and industry are actually not improving. The gap between purchase, wholesale, and retail prices has widened, which has a negative effect on the state of the economy, and the financial position of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, industrial enterprises, and the whole country. Many farms are unable to ensure reproduction on a larger scale, much less tackle their social problems without state aid.

We are faced with an objective need to create an essentially new inter-related system of purchase, wholesale, and retail prices, aimed at the intensification and stimulation of the production of quality products in the zones most favorable for this, at wiping out deficit, and at consolidation of cost-accounting.

The new pricing mechanism should become an effective instrument of shaping progressive proportions and structural changes of production and consumption, and of improving end results. This is our principled policy.

We must realize clearly that the purposes of economic restructuring cannot be achieved, new methods of economic management cannot be introduced, and a socialist market cannot be formed without a price reform, a reform of the entire price formation system.

Purchase prices must be refined considerably. Purchase prices of those kinds of quality products which are in short supply must be raised substantially. Differentiation of prices for products of various grades must be increased. Premiums for the high quality of products and additional payments for the use of specialized highly marketable production.

All this requires thorough economic analysis and appropriate decisions.

The documents circulated among you envisage the introduction of new purchase prices of farm produce as of January 1, 1990.

These prices are to include the current additions; the number of pricing zones is to be reduced sharply. Production in regions with the most favorable conditions should be stimulated the most.

It is also planned to make price formation more flexible. Pricing should not be the prerogative of central agencies alone. So the range of products priced in a centralized way should be reduced.

And, conversely, there should be greater room for the use of contractual prices, particularly of early-ripening, seasonal and perishable products—potatoes, vegetables and fruit—the way it has been done of late in most socialist countries.

I [illegible] that this approach will stimulate increased output and improvement of quality.

[illegible] of those products at their actual [illegible] [illegible] retail prices of potatoes, vegetables and fruit.

As to the retail prices of such staple foodstuffs as bread, flour, cereals, meat, fish, eggs, milk, sugar, butter, vegetable oil, and baby foods, their state retail prices will remain unchanged for the next 2 or 3 years.

All the sectors of our economy have switched to the use of a new mechanism—on the principles of self-repayment, self-financing and self-management. This is quite often accompanied by manifestations of group egoism, by striving to inflate prices.

In order to maintain an equivalent exchange between the agrarian sector and other spheres of the national economy it is very important to prevent inordinately high prices for industrial products.

For this purpose it is necessary to work out a parity of prices and to create a mechanism to maintain it. Appropriate control over this should be established at a governmental level and, perhaps, at a level of the supreme body of state authority.

There might be some changes in prices with the emergence of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The problems of collectives, soykhozes, and processing enterprises that show little profit or are operated at a loss, and the increase in their responsibility to the country, are a special theme for discussion and examination.

This is a large problem affecting the destinies of many people and a considerable part of our agrarian sector.

Everybody agrees that there is a need for a specific approach to every such farm. Clearly, the experience accumulated by comrades in the Orel region will be useful to the majority of such enterprises.

Comrades in the Orel region got down energetically to the solution of social and economic problems of rural areas, tackled the problem of raising the effectiveness of economic management, and created on this basis the necessary conditions for providing personnel for the management of weak enterprises.

Many of you have witnessed for yourself the fact that the situation in the agriculture of the Orel region is changing for the better, and quite promptly. This experience should be used.

As for the farms that lag behind, some have real prospects for independent development. Radical measures are called for in such cases.

In some instances it would be expedient to transfer the land of these farms to sound kolkhozes and soykhozes, to other enterprises, to leaseholders under collective or family contracts—to use the existing opportunities for the development of subsidiary industries.

I think this must be done without delay so that these problems be resolved in the interests of society in a year or two, with consideration for the interests of those who work in these kolkhozes and soykhozes. The imperfection of the finance and credit provision for the agrarian sector is apparent. It lags behind developments, is still overly regulated, and does not stimulate enough enterprise and taking calculated risks.

There is a need for radical restructuring of the activity of banks, particularly of the agro-industrial bank. It is necessary to ensure that they are really interested in the development of production, and act as business partners.

An impetus must be given to the development of a system of [illegible] and joint [illegible] enterprises [illegible] on the basis of [illegible] and [illegible] by drawing on the savings of their employees.

Relations are not good between the budget and processing enterprises.

It is known that many branches of the food industry, even the sugar industry, are in a most difficult financial situation, and have no funds for reconstruction and normal development of the social infrastructure. Deductions from profits do not enable them to develop normally.

This situation needs to be analysed carefully.

We must enter the next five-year period with a smoothly operating mechanism of financial relations between enterprises and the state budget.

In this connection there is a need to speed up the working out of scientifically substantiated rates of income tax and deductions to the budget on the basis of the payment of rent. It is of principled importance to establish the procedure of supply of funds to the budgets of local soviets.

[illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

We all realise well, comrades, that the restructuring of agrarian relations presupposes a radical change of management of the agro-industrial complex—frankly speaking, the elimination of the existing administrative (departmental and territorial) system of management of agriculture and the agrarian sector of the economy as a whole.

Agricultural enterprises are really doubly dependent from the viewpoint of management now. On the one hand, they are subordinated to higher bodies along the departmental line. They are also managed in no less, and perhaps even to a greater, degree, by local party and government bodies, starting from district level.

This system was formed long ago, in the times of collectivization. Local bodies rigidly controlled the entire activity of agricultural enterprises.

District authorities gave assignments to farms for the amount and structure of output and as regards schedules, and interfered in all farm affairs, while bearing no economic responsibility for the consequences of their decisions.

Restructuring presupposes a radical change in the system of managing the agrarian sector at all levels.

On the whole, a contemporary managerial system of the agro-industrial sector should be based on the general principles of our economic reform.

The point is to ensure a genuine priority of the basic economic components—farms and enterprises, a resolute transition to economic methods of management, a gradual introduction of the principles of wholesale trade, and the mastering of the levers of commodity-money relations.

A new system should also fully meet the requirements of our political reform. What I mean is, first of all, a transition to the absolute power of the soviets (local governing councils) on the territory under their jurisdiction, a steep rise in the role of work collectives, and genuine democratization of management at all levels.

Proposals which have been prepared for the plenum deal with the complete abolition of district agro-industrial associations. I obviously mean that such associations shall be abolished in those places where they still exist.

We proceeded from the assumption that no one should interfere in the day-to-day economic activities of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and still less peasant and individual small holdings.

It is also meant that farms may establish appropriate cost-accounting units, on a strictly voluntary, commercial basis and on principles of mutual benefit, to perform the functions of technical repair, building, and other types of servicing, transportation and marketing of products, and the construction of joint enterprises or social facilities.

In the district, meetings of representatives of farms and enterprises may form a council on a democratic basis to coordinate business-like cooperation in tackling this or that matter of mutual interest. The soviet and its staff shall not be vested with administrative and executive functions.

I think this is of basic importance, for in the final analysis complete independence of producers is the initial point of departure for all our proposals.

The work collective itself determines a pattern and character of production, decides on all practical matters, and bears full responsibility for the results of its economic activities.

In point of fact the process of the rise and development of new forms of managing the agro-industrial sector is already under way, and a great diversity in approaches is manifest. This should be only welcomed.

Elective bodies have been formed democratically in almost two thousand districts, in place of the district agro-industrial association's administrative apparatus, on the strength of the free expression of the will of work collectives.

We should heed the experience of the operation of agro-complexes, agro-firms and associations. There are already more than 300 of them in the country now, with 110 being cooperative agro-industrial associations.

I think any pressure regarding the choice of managerial forms should be ruled out. With all their diversity, a common feature of all of them should be independence and self-management, economic methods of guidance over economic activities, the developed nature of cooperative principles, the establishment of integration ties in production, and processing and marketing.

Proposals concerning regional, territorial and republican levels of management set out in the documents also accord in the main with the tasks which arise from the radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside.

Actually, in this case we also rely on the experience which has already been gained. I mean that new forms of managing the agro-industrial sector are also winning their way at regional level.

Economic units established on grassroots initiative are taking the place of the agro-industrial sector's managerial bodies vested with directive functions.

Their functions are also radically different. The purpose of their activities is to give real assistance in tackling matters which go beyond the jurisdiction of district units and require coordination at a higher level.

In this connection there quite naturally arises the question of how we should build relationships, at the next stage of the political reform, between the soviets and their executive bodies on the one hand, and new agrarian units at district, regional and territorial levels on the other.

Now that a law on local self-management and the local economy is being prepared, the entire spectrum of these matters should be thoroughly thought out with an eye to the fact that the status of the soviets themselves will change. The economic situation in the countryside as a whole will also cardinally change, and new mechanisms of interrelations should consequently be worked out.

Issues concerning the management of the agro-industrial sector at the level of the union republics should be considered within the context of the already prepared and published draft document on general principles for restructuring the managment of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics through extending their sovereign rights, through self-management and self-financing.

In principle this is a question of extending the rights of the union republics in solving all problems of the agro-industrial sector and enhancing their responsibility for the provision of their populations with food.

But in this case as well, the functions of appropriate bodies should take into account the essence of radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside.

This means that at republican level the managerial bodies connected with the agro-industrial sector may not interfere in the economic activities of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, or other enterprises of the agro-industrial sector.

Republican agro-industrial sectors should tackle their tasks on the basis of economic approaches and utilization of economic methods for regulating processes.

As far as management at all-union level is concerned, this question was also the subject of the most thorough consideration.

This led to the formulation of proposals on abolishing the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and on setting up a state commission of the USSR Council of Ministers for food and purchases as a permanently functioning body.

This step is in keeping with our commitment to raise the government's role in the solution of key economic problems, and its responsibility for developing the agro-industrial complex and improving the country's food supply.

Comrades, restructuring economic relations in the countryside gives us a real chance to get down to the solution of the task that has troubled us seriously in recent years, and which we were practically unable to tackle. I have in mind the effective use of the potential we have created in the agrarian sector.

Indeed, 884 billion rubles of capital investments were channelled to agriculture between 1961-1988. Today, the agro-industrial complex has tremendous production assets: About 360 billion rubles in agriculture, and 68 billion rubles in the processing industry.

Per capita power consumption in the countryside, and deliveries of machinery and fertilizers to agriculture, have increased approximately 1.5-fold during the past 10 years.

But, as I have already said, we still do not get the necessary returns from this huge potential. Farm products are becoming more expensive due to this, while the yield per unit of assets and profitability remain low.

This is direct evidence that we have a wasteful economy with all its negative, socially ruinous consequences.

I am convinced that all-out efforts to go over to new economic forms of management will allow us to achieve, with the available means and technical facilities, and rather quickly for that matter, quite notable results in agricultural production and in the agro-industrial complex as a whole .

This is precisely the conclusion that we should draw on the basis of an overall analysis. We must immediately proceed from this in our practical work.

But on the other hand, restructuring of production relations in the countryside—and we are in a position to assert this with confidence—will demand new machinery and involve the use of progressive technologies.

We can forecast for sure that new forms of economic management will bring more pressure to bear on sectors supplying agriculture with machinery and other resources.

The primary task requiring urgent solution is to develop machine systems for land cultivation and livestock breeding so that we could complete agriculture's comprehensive mechanization within the next few years and make farm labor more productive, more creative, and more attractive.

Particularly pressing today are problems of mechanizing vegetable, sugarbeet, cotton, and flax growing.

Mechanization of livestock farms, above all small ones, is also below par. Manual labor accounts for more than 80 percent of the work done there.

There are not enough machines for fodder-making, and for the cultivation of household plots and highland and small fields, which now add up to more than thirty million hectares.

For many past years we have merely recorded the low efficiency of our material and technical facilities in the processing industry, and have passed corresponding decisions, but no substantial changes for the better occurred.

The network of processing enterprises is unable to cope even with the present level of agricultural production in all regions of the country. And yet we intend to boost it.

It is not only a matter of this network's underdevelopment, comrades, but of its low technical standards, and its shortage of up-to-date technological equipment for thoroughly processing, parcelling, and packing farm products.

Now we have finally drawn up, I think, a realistic program for modernizing the processing industry. As many as 77 billion rubles in capital investments have been allocated for the purpose.

Not only the civilian machine-building industry, but also individual sectors of the defense industry are involved in this program. Cooperation with socialist and capitalist countries is growing.

Things have begun to move, and our efforts are gaining momentum. There is now confidence that these tasks can be solved effectively in the foreseeable future. But no little concerted effort should be exerted for this purpose by clients, designers and machine builders.

In the meantime, only 78 percent of capital investments were used in the period from 1986 to 1988, even at enterprises using sets of imported equipment.

We all know how pressing the problem of food supply is in such major industrial centers as Krasnoyarsk, Novokuznetsk, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk and Yaroslavl.

But there, too, the attitude to the construction of processing industry projects cannot be described as anything but outrageous. Where are the local soviets? Where are the party organizations and Communist-managers?

No, comrades, we shall not be able to make much progress if we act in this way. In setting the task of further increasing the output of machinery, moreover of the most diverse types—for land cultivation and livestock-breeding, for the processing industry, for leaseholders and cooperators, for private households and different zones of the country—we must raise bluntly the question of the quality and dependability of our machinery, equipment and other means of production.

Workers of the agrarian sector rightly complain that the machine builders, abusing their monopoly status, often foist upon the countryside outdated models of expensive machines with low dependability and efficiency standards. This is ruinous not only for agriculture, but for the country as a whole.

After all, we are dealing here with a production sector of huge dimensions, employing large collectives, possessing large output capacities, and consuming much metal, fuel and electric power. And all this is devalued in large measure by the low-quality machinery it turns out.

Poor quality machines compel agriculture to set up highly expensive repair services, now employing over one million people; that is, more than the entire farm machine building industry. No other country tolerates such wastefulness.

We produce more tractors than any other country in the world and yet complaints about their short supply are common. That's no good at all, and is a direct result of the backward pattern of production and the low quality of machines.

Their manufacturers often explain frequent machinery breakdowns on kolkhozes and sovkhozes by the low professional standards of farm workers and inadequate maintenance and repair services. I think that this is partly true.

But comrades, even advanced farms with skilled personnel and adequate repair facilities have just as many complaints about machine quality.

Can we continue putting up with the fact that Soviet-built machinery is in many respects inferior to comparable foreign models? Providing the agrarian sector with machines today primarily means improving their quality and making them more reliable.

Obviously, the government, its bureau for machine building, and the state planning agency should study this highly important state problem thoroughly, together with scientists, specialists, and machine manufacturers and users, and find a solution.

Further structural and qualitative changes to technological policy are indispensable. Machine builders should be put in such economic conditions that would rule out the manufacture of shoddy equipment.

Experience demonstrates that wholesale trade is an effective means against the forcing of unnecessary and worthless machines on users and against the monopoly of manufacturers. This kind of trade fits in with the new economic relations in the best possible way.

Speaking of the need to put the agro-industrial sector on a modern footing in the context of solving the food problem, one cannot bypass the issue of losses during the harvesting, transportation, storage, and processing of farm produce.

Our losses in grain harvesting and pre-storage treatment amount to 15 and even 20 million tonnes. About as much is lost in storage and processing. In all, comrades, the losses equal our purchases abroad.

Due to the sparsity of meat packing plants, their low technological standards, and inefficient use of raw materials, meat losses, even according to the lowest estimates, add up to around one million tonnes, this despite the acute shortage of foodstuffs. Such is the dimension of the problem.

Stressing the importance of a modern foundation for the processing industry, it should be borne in mind that many problems stem from the methods of economic management, people's attitude to work, and their poor motivation to achieve better end results.

If people were put in different economic conditions, they would not tolerate the losses, mismanagement and waste. So this task must be solved too.

Comrades, now that we are overhauling economic relations in the countryside, a favorable situation is being created to blend agriculture with the scientific and technological revolution and ensure transition to new technologies and active use of the latest achievements in biotechnology, breeding and agrochemistry, and of everything that should considerably boost productivity on the farms.

What does world experience tell us? The substantial success of many countries in building up food stocks has to a considerable degree been due to their taking advantage of scientific and technological progress—to what has come to be known as "the green revolution."

The need to pay closer attention to scientific advances is dictated also by the specific natural conditions in which we practice agriculture.

But with a few exceptions, these conditions can't be described as particularly favorable. But we won't be able to change the weather and climatic conditions.

So it is essential to learn to act in the real situation and keep the nation steadily supplied with food, even in the leanest years.

Why is the example of go-ahead farms important? It is important because it convinces one of the need to combine the latest in science and technology with the new methods of economic management and worker incentives.

In short, science should become part of the cardinal transformation of economic relations, and the material basis of the agrarian sector.

The role of science today should be different, and its interaction with enterprises based on mutual interest and economic accounting.

I think that this is what we lack. We are just beating about the bush. The idea of "science for the sake of science," riding roughshod over practice and the resolution of the specific tasks of boosting production efficiency, has proved too tenacious.

While speaking about all this, I don't want to belittle the significance of work by leading agrarian scientists in any way. But their contribution would be far more tangible and effective if scientific collectives are able to form direct ties with producers on a wide scale.

This is why I shall stress once more: The key issue in this field is the transfer of research organizations to cost accounting and the contract system.

Like all others, scientific institutions should themselves have to earn the money to finance their development and increase incentives for research and for scientists. This will put everything in its place right away, show who is who, and bring quick and palpable returns.

This will demand, of course, that scientific organizations decisively reorganize their work and give priority to research which helps solve the food problem.

I think that much can be done in this respect by science-and-production amalgamations and by production and science-and-production systems.

But this, too, will require a good deal of reorganization, comrades, and our agrarian science is entitled to count on the understanding and support of party, local government and economic agencies, especially when it comes to its provision with materials, equipment and facilities.

Life has also posed new tasks for social scientists. It is imperative to study the problems of property, the cooperative movement, leaseholding, commodity-money relations, and the interests of different social groups.

Economic and social forecasting is effectively a "blank spot." The regularities of structural changes, proportions, and balances have not been investigated well enough.

Comrades, Soviet society has joined actively in addressing ecological problems. This public activity should be welcomed and encouraged in every way.

Every economic decision must indeed be scientifically valid and carefully considered. No other way is acceptable.

We should act in this manner when developing agriculture and the agro-industrial sector, and take care that economic activity ease ecological tension and solve related problems rather than harm the environment.

There have been many, and often very emotional, debates lately on the pros and cons of land reclamation. The reasons why this issue has become so sharp are more than enough: There have been quite a few mistakes in designing and building irrigation projects.

In addition, reclaimed lands are sometimes put to inefficient use, and a sizable part has simply fallen irretrievably out of agricultural use.

But it would be wrong to conclude that land reclamation is unacceptable as such. The natural conditions in which we conduct farming are hard, so in some cases we won't be able to do without irrigation, in others without drainage.

The entire historical experience shows that land reclamation—most notably irrigation—is in many countries the decisive condition for stable and guaranteed agricultural harvests.

Land improvement is pursued on a large scale in the United States, China, India, in European countries and, in point of fact, everywhere. The total area of irrigated lands in the world, according to estimates by international organizations, amounts to more than 200 million hectares.

So the question is not one of abandoning land reclamation, but of practicing it withour harming nature, spoiling the soil, or squandering public funds.

The situation in many of our regions has been the opposite: Billions of rubles have been spent without adequate returns. In a number of cases, serious ecological damage has been done.

I think we should analyze the state of affairs carefully, and work out clear-cut and scientifically sound recommendations.

But it is already clear that what must be done as a matter or urgency is putting reclaimed lands in proper order and taking the necessary measures to put land and water to more rational use. Efforts to come to grips with ecological problems that have piled up should not be put off either.

The situation concerning the use of chemicals is similar in many respects. Why so?

The reason is the same: Disregard for technical and technological solutions which would exclude the negative environmental impact of both the production of chemicals and their use. What is needed in this field, too, is thinking carefully before taking decisions.

We can by no means manage without chemicals today. But we should drastically raise standards and increase accountability when it comes to the production, transportation and storage of chemicals, and especially their application to the soil. Besides, our personnel often lack the required qualifications. All this should be put right competently and quickly.

There is also one more thing: For a number of reasons we have stopped valuing land as we should.

In most regions, soil fertility is declining. Large areas suffer from desertification, wind and water erosion. Tracts of land with saline and acidic soil are expanding in many areas.

We may no longer mistreat land in this way, comrades. The time has come to prepare and endorse a law on land and its utilization. We should enhance our legislative measures to protect farmland against wasteful use.

But this is not enough. We should pay more attention to scientifically substantiated methods for cultivating land, crop rotation, and soil-protecting technologies. This is a direct duty of all those using land.

The awareness of the complexity and importance of ecological problems has led us to recognize the need for a national ecological program which will help us solve the accumulated problems and initiate new approaches to dealing with economic tasks.

It is important to prepare it thoroughly, in a broad democratic and open fashion, with the participation of the public, practical workers and scientists.

A few words are in order about investment policy. A new situation is shaping in this sphere.

The time has come to adjust investment policy so that it will reflect the real development needs of the agrarian sector, help break "bottlenecks," and ensure the proportional development of both the material and technical base and social amenities.

The draft documents handed out to you suggest directing capital investments primarily to raising the technological standard of agriculture, radically refurbishing the processing industry as well as transportation and storage facilities, and drastically cutting losses.

We must ensure a balanced development of the entire "production—transportation—storage—processing—marketing—consumption" cycle involving farm produce.

Such a structure of capital investments will make it possible to yield a greater effect with less spending, above all due to cuts in losses and more efficient processing.

In the 13th five-year period, it is planned to increase the output of foodstuffs by 26-30 percent, while the output of farm produce will grow by 16 percent.

Present-day investment policy should also take into account another aspect: A considerable change of the financing source.

Earlier, capital investments were mainly allocated from above, and distributed from the center to regions in accordance with goals of the agrarian sector's development, while now, necessary resources must be earned above all by production collectives.

We can no longer so strictly regulate proportions of capital investments, as the situation in each region, and even at each farm, is different. Farms should themselves decide how and for what purpose to use capital investments.

In one case, the emphasis should be laid on road construction, in another on the processing, and in a third on the social sphere.

I think that such a formulation of the issue is justified, and meets the policy of developing independence and decentralization in economic decision-making.

We must now create a resource base so that production collectives could use their funds to buy machines, equipment, and other resources.

Now I'd like to raise a very sore and acute subject which concerns the everyday life of millions of people: The social reform of the countryside.

I must admit that the resources spent for this purpose have not made it possible to overcome the village's considerable and chronic lagging behind the town.

Rural areas are in a much worse position as regards medical, trade, cultural, and communal services, and the amount of house equipment per unit of floorspace there is 2 to 5 times lower than in cities.

The peasant mode of life has lost its attractiveness and prestige. People, above all the young, are leaving villages. Migration from the countryside has for years surpassed the rural population growth.

The death rate among able-bodied people in villages is 20 per cent—and among children 50 per cent—higher than in cities.

Mistakes in the distribution of productive forces, specifically the priority construction of ever new industrial facilities in major cities, did great damage to villages.

Things reached a point when even the processing of farm produce, which is directly linked with its raw material base, began to be developed in industrial centers.

Small dairy factories, brickworks, bakeries and other vital facilities disappeared from villages. In the last few decades, village primary schools, medical institutions, and shops were hastily closed.

The disregard for the needs of villages and the hypertrophied urban development brought about great social distortions and complicated the normal economic functioning of whole regions.

As a result, the sphere of application of villagers' work narrowed, and villages continued to lose their already scanty labor resources. In the long run, this caused extra strain in cities, too, and had an extremely negative effect on food supplies.

What is most alarming is that social development plans for villages are apparently understated, despite the difficult situation there.

In word, everyone advocates fast social reform in the countryside, and in deed one can see inertia and—let's say it frankly—irresponsibility and indifference displayed.

Comrades, a draft resolution mapping out measures to accelerate the social development of villages is being submitted for your consideration.

The main priorities have been given to housing construction and to the provision of villages with communal services and amenities.

We're facing the tasks of creating up-to-date facilities for rural house building, attracting on a large scale urban construction workers, and developing housing construction with the use of local resources and individual construction.

The rates of house building in villages in the 13th five-year period must be at least doubled. We must proceed from this task.

We'll also have to launch large-scale work to provide villages with heating, gas, water and electricity supply systems.

Villagers justly raise the issue of why rural areas have been put on short rations, and why peasants have been left to struggle with their problems alone, although the country has vast resources.

In fact, we need a fundamentally new approach to the task of providing villages with amenities. The majority of developed countries solve these issues with the help of autonomous life-support systems. So we must closely examine all these things.

We must take a fresh look at rural houses and farmsteads and, above all, lift all restrictions concerning the size of structures, the number of stories in them, and their architecture.

Let people build houses the way they like. A beautiful, well-built and convenient house will become a real home for many generations of villagers. Such houses will transform villages.

One of the immediate tasks is the construction of roads. We proceeded from this when drafting new plans.

The draft plan for 1991-1995 set the task of building 226,000 kilometers of hard-surface roads at farms alone, and also connecting all central farmsteads of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with district centers by convenient roads, and establishing regular transport communication.

Earlier, a special program for the radical improvement of road building in the Non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian federation was adopted. More than 35 billion rubles in capital investments were allocated for these purposes.

The social transformation of villages includes a large-scale construction of schools and hospitals, of cultural, sports and trading facilities, and the provision of villages with communal services.

Seasonal unemployment can be largely relieved by developing ancillary production and crafts and by opening branches of industrial enterprises, especially those producing consumer goods.

The radical improvement of working and living conditions for women in the countryside, who work at kolkhozes and sovkhozes and also keep house, is a matter of state importance.

All this has to be done without delay and on a large scale.

During preparations for the plenary meeting, secretaries of rural district party committees and heads of kolkhozes and sovkhozes raised, as a matter of urgency, the question of improving collective farmers' social security and pensions. Work to elaborate a draft of the new law on pensions is now nearing completion. This law should involve a fair answer to these questions.

The fate of areas deserted by people and of those territories where efforts to stem the migration processes have so far failed is the subject of particular concern. We will probably require a purposeful state program here, which would encourage working people's movement from other areas and create the necessary conditions for normal life in the new place.

Certainly, you will have paid attention to specific proposals made on this score in the drafts. They also include such matters as building well-appointed flats and houses with their subsequent sale to people on easy terms, encouraging the construction of one's own houses, allotting materials and soft credits for this, lump sum payments for farm development, and free provision of cattle and poultry to the new arrivals.

The issue to preserve housing in cities for those who decided to work in farms has been raised.

It seems that this approach will find a response from residents of cities and villages, especially in those regions where there is a surplus of labor.

Such a large-scale and purposeful program of social transformations in the village will call for enormous efforts by the entire society as well as the attention and consistent work of party organizations and soviets of people's deputies.

IV.

So, comrades, there are measures for your discussion which envisage a drastic overhaul in the CPSU's agrarian policy. At issue are sweeping political and socio-economic transformations which are in the vital interests of the village and the city, of peasants, workers, and intellectuals—in other words, in the interests of the entire society.

The country faces thorough changes in the village. It would be naive to think that they can be effected simply and easily, as if mechanically.

No, they will require much dedicated and patient work, both in clarifying the meaning and significance of the new agrarian policy, in decisively reorienting our personnel, and in fundamentally altering methods and approaches in the activity of party, government and economic bodies.

Totally abandoning power and pressure methods and the artificial acceleration of restructuring in villages are the foremost political features of this work. We will commit a serious mistake if we rely, if only to a small degree, on administrative fiat. This style of management has totally discredited itself, and brought about crisis phenomena in the agrarian sector and the current food supply situation.

The consistent reshaping of economic relations in the village, independent economic management, and diversity of forms which free man's initiative should be the points of departure in the new policy. This should certainly be accompanied by unflagging attention to scientific-technical progress, to the peasant's working and living conditions, and to the social transformation of the village.

The task of party organizations is to exercise leadership without issuing commands; act, through efficient work with the people, getting them to become aware of the need for changes; and enhance confidence that it is they

and they alone who can and should decide their destiny. This will also help tackle economic problems, and will be the next step in the democratic development of Soviet society.

The new agrarian policy should have a sound legal foundation so that collective farmers, workers of sovkhozes and other enterprises, members of cooperatives, lease holders, and all workers in the agro-industrial complex can be confident in the stable and long-term nature of the new policy.

We have serious political, social, economic, organizational, and cultural-educational problems here, which should be analyzsed and acted upon.

The question prompts itself: What shall we begin with, what shall we get down to in the first place? I think we would have acted rashly if we began giving recipes for all scenarios here, at the plenary meeting.

The implementation of the new agrarian policy will take place in the specific conditions of one or another region, one or another farm.

Some collectives have already gained experience of work on the basis of cost-accounting, use of family contract, and forms of leasing. Others are only starting to handle new tasks.

The situation is totally different in loss-making farms, and in depopulated villages facing an acute shortage of personnel.

Nevertheless, one can probably advise all party organisations and work collectives that they should gather together and thoroughly discuss the basic provisions of the new agrarian policy and documents of the plenum and choose forms of economic management with careful account for local conditions.

It is obvious how great and indispensable the role of party organisations is in this.

In implementing the new agrarian policy, the party committees should reveal the modern content of party work, and their style and methods of activity. They should convince people of the advantages of new forms of economic management.

In brief, it is necessary to act on the basis of the broadest democratism. There is no alternative.

Time will be required to fully comprehend the proposed policy. It is very important to not make haste, and to avoid hurried judgements and shallow conclusions.

And, of course, it is impermissible to sink into panic and confusion in the face of unusual situations, of extraordinary and profound changes.

One should not rule out resistance to things new due to outdated habits, dogmatic thinking, established styles of work, and a way of life formed over decades.

It is impossible to make do without a serious change in the mentality of rural workers, including managerial staff.

It is no less important that new functions of soviets of people's deputies at all levels be fully developed in implementing the new agrarian policy. Their interrelationship with agrarian entities and rural workers should rest on a solid legal, normative basis.

Local governing councils have an indispensable role to play in everything from concern for more rational uses of land and other natural resources, to protection for leaseholders' rights and the development of social and cultural services in the countryside. There, new possibilities enable them to be more effective in securing better food supplies to the population.

The assimilation and creative use of experience is a powerful and effective lever for rebuilding economic relations in the countryside.

The new policy should impel party and local government workers, the mass media, and, of course, research centers to study innovations in agriculture and promote them among the masses in the most attentive manner.

The new agrarian policy also confronts personnel with the exceptionally important task of upgrading their knowledge of economics and becoming able to make active use of the forms and methods of cost accounting, act independently, and show enterprise.

I think we also should become fully aware of the following aspect of practical work. Realizing the agrarian policy will require enormous effort not only on the part of rural workers—although they will have to bear the brunt of the work—but also the rest of the nation.

Machine builders and workers in the chemical, construction, fuel and power industries and, in effect, all other economic sectors should contribute to the nationwide effort.

It is essential first of all to fill the agrarian sector's orders on time and with a high degree of quality in order to give real help, acting on contractual terms, to the social transformation of the village.

All groups of soviet intellectuals—teachers, physicians, scientists and workers at design and planning organizations—have a great role to play in rural development.

As I said already, one aspect of the new agrarian policy is the dramatically increased role and responsibility of rayons, okrugs, oblasts, krays, and republics in resolving the food supply problem. I shall repeat that we must act decisively to overcome parasitism in this respect.

The main thing is for the officials in positions of responsibility to realize the new situation and the new tasks facing them.

There are reserves for improving local supplies in every area, comrades. The problem is that they are used in different ways.

In some regions, they have been able, even in the current economic situation, to organize work efficiently enough to both meet their supply commitments to central procurement agencies and substantially improve local food supplies.

This can be said not of just two or three regions. Welcome changes of this kind have taken place in the central Non-Chernozem Zone of Russia, in the northern Caucasus, and in several regions in the Volga area, Siberia, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan.

Regrettably, a different attitude to the food issue and to rural development in general can also be encountered.

In the Chelyabinsk region with its vast land resources, for example, economic development has been so heavily unbalanced that the agrarian sector is now a real shambles.

Or take the very rich Gorkiy and Kuibyshev regions, with their great potential to grow most diverse produce.

However, this potential has been used extremely poorly and the two regions experience serious difficulties with food supplies.

The Perm, Kemerovo and Dnepropetrovsk regions have done an equally sloppy job of tapping reserves to become self-sufficient in dairy products.

The new agrarian policy should begin to be realized by restucturing the views and thinking of party, local government, and economic officials, and overcoming a sponger's mentality which, as we see, has very deep roots. There can be no place for the psychology of dependency in the new agrarian policy.

Comrades, our society is living through deep-going, fundamental changes. Restructuring is gathering momentum and gaining in potential, which has already manifested itself, and which will inevitably exercise increasing influence on the social, economic and cultural development of Soviet society.

The renewal process has organically included economic and political reform, and now also reform in agrarian relations.

The tasks facing us are truly imposing. It will take enormous effort on the part of the party and the entire nation to perform them. There are still many summits to be scaled.

All of us should be prepared for hard work which the party has consciously undertaken. We now need to go forward without stopping halfway, and look at life realistically, honestly, and openly.

But the main thing is to keep stubbornly marching on, matching every step with the interests of our great people, the interests of socialism.

## PRAVDA on 2d Day Speeches

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[TASS report on 16 March CPSU Central Committee Plenum proceedings: "Restructuring of Agrarian Policy—the Party's Revolutionary Strategy"]

[Text] On 16 March the participants in the CPSU Central Committee Plenum discussed a program of radical transformations in the countryside. Restructuring and the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society's life require an agrarian policy that will ensure the rebirth of the peasant as master of the land and will lead to the reliable resolution of the food problem. That is the course proposed by the party.

Opening the discussion, M.S. Gorbachev briefed those present on the telegrams received by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Working people, sincerely wishing the party success in resolving the historic tasks of renewal of the countryside and promoting the new agrarian policy, put forward concrete proposals for the all-around development of lease relations, the wide introduction of various forms of contract, and the improvement of the management of the agro-industrial sector of the economy. Many telegrams express the willingness of Communists living in the cities to travel to rural districts to play a practical part in the implementation of the party's agrarian policy.

The debate then began.

V.I. Potapov, first secretary of Irkutsk CPSU Obkom, mounted the platform. For many Siberian regions, and in particular for Irkutsk Oblast, he said, food supplies to the population are the most acute problem, because both the working conditions and the natural climatic conditions require a special balance of food products. We are seeking solutions and working on this problem intensively. The measures adopted recently, especially as regards the social reorganization of the countryside and the industrialization of agricultural production through the enhancement of its efficiency on the basis of improved economic relations at kolkhozes and sovkhozes, have enabled us to fulfill certain priority tasks,

and in particular to reduce the exodus of the population from the countryside. This is extremely important for us, because in Irkutsk Oblast the rural population accounts for 19 percent of the total.

According to preliminary figures, last year the number of people working in the oblast's agriculture scarcely declined at all. Whereas formerly the growth in production of agricultural output, in the main, merely compensated for the growth in the urban population, and therefore per capita consumption of the main types of food did not increase, last year per capita consumption of meat increased by 2 kg, and of milk by 15 kg. All farms achieved a profitable level of work. This is a small step, but for us it is very important and encouraging. It was largely promoted by the introduction of progressive forms of labor organization, and in particular the lease contract. Last year one-sixth of agricultural output was produced by collectives working under these conditions. This year there are considerably more such collectives. Therefore it is with great conviction that I support the approaches to the adoption of lease relations set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's report.

However, the state of affairs in agriculture, the speaker went on, remains very strained, in particular because of the extremely poor social and production facilities. Nearly half the villages lack schools, three-fourths lack comprehensive consumer service reception centers, and the provision of roads is extremely poor. The process of providing housing amenities is unsatisfactory.

We have begun to embark on more concrete, intensive measures in this sphere. On the initiative of many labor collectives of industrial enterprises, last year 5 percent of material and technical resources were handed over for rural construction, which made it possible to considerably increase the commissioning of housing and other sociocultural facilities. An intensive construction plan was drawn up for this year too.

The speaker dwelt in detail on questions of diverting a certain proportion of capital investments from the industrial sector into the agrarian sector, relations with ministries and departments in this connection, the strengthening of the material and technical base of agriculture, and the supply of medical, teaching, and other cadres for the agrarian sector.

Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, took the floor. I would like, the speaker said, to single out as one of the priority tasks that of dramatically increasing the prestige of peasant labor. To this end it is necessary first and foremost to change the state of affairs in the primary component of agricultural production.

The report's provision dealing with the need to go over to the development of agricultural production on the basis of diverse forms of ownership, use, and control of property and equal economic conditions and rights for kolkhozes and sovkhozes, processing enterprises and organizations, lease operators, cooperatives, and peasant farms merits a high assessment. And may every form develop according to natural and economic conditions, the specific characteristics of intrafarm relations, and local traditions.

At the same time it would be expedient if the documents that are to be adopted at the plenum were to reflect more clearly the fact that the choice of a particular form of labor organization is a purely voluntary matter, requiring a concrete approach on each specific farm and in each specific region. For instance, the main avenue of development of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production in Belorussia is the switch to industrial techniques. What are the benefits of this? At such enterprises average daily weight gains of livestock are 50-100 percent higher than at conventional enterprises, feed expenditure is one-third to one-half of the conventional level, and labor expenditure per unit of output is one-fourth to one-third of the level at conventional enterprises.

There are also obvious advantages from the viewpoint of the creation of a developed infrastructure. In the republic more than 300 modern, well-appointed settlements have already been built at livestock raising enterprises, and living conditions there are no worse and in many cases even better than in the city.

The strengthening of the links between science and production is also a highly significant aspect. We have set the goal of having cattle embryo transplantation centers in every rayon and selective hog breeding centers in every oblast within the next few years. It is planned to set up an agrochemical laboratory on every kolkhoz and sovkhoz.

I would not want you to form the impression, the speaker said, that Sokolov advocates only large-scale agricultural enterprises. We are firmly convinced of the need to restructure production relations in the countryside and develop the lease system and cooperatives.

The effectiveness of agrarian policy will depend largely, if not crucially, on pricing. The time has come to straighten out the system of supplements to output prices for weak farms, so as to avoid generating dependent attitudes and social injustice. The funds that now go on supplements could usefully be incorporated in purchase prices, depending on the specific natural conditions and land survey details. In this context the right of price differentiation should be granted to the republics.

The speaker devoted part of his speech to the question of increasing the role of scientific institutions in the agro-industrial sector. The contribution of VASKHNIL [V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences] to the development of technologies and the provision of modern means of production for agriculture should be greater.

In the speaker's opinion it would be expedient to creat a single subdepartment based on the "Soyuzselkhozk himiya" [All-Union Agrochemical Services to Agricu ture Scientific Production Association] and the Ministr of Mineral Fertilizer Production. Its main duty would b to increase yields and fertility of the land, and also t reduce the negative effects of chemicals on the enviro ment.

Today it is not a question of how restructuring is perceived and how our people regard the task in hand, D.K. Motornyy, chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz in Kherson Oblast, said. Today the point is that the pace of development is not to our liking. For us, time is one of the most important factors, and we should do everything to accelerate the resolution of the urgent questions that have arisen in the agrarian sector today.

The basis of the administrative system of management is the centralization of funds, the speaker believes. The new regional policy that is now being introduced will help us to find a way out of the existing situation. Rural working people are worried about the gap in prices between industrial and agricultural goods. And it is not yet clear how pricing will develop in future, but one would wish this question to be resolved fairly.

In the speaker's opinion it is necessary to eliminat subsidies to low-profit farms—this is the "art" of thos economists who created the system—work badly, an things will be better for you: They pay one person 8 kopeks for a liter of milk, another 30 kopeks. Thus the level out the economic indicators and declare that w have no unprofitable farms. Today we think realisticall and ought to see the real state of affairs.

The radical economic reform has brought to the for front questions of self-financing, autonomy, and fu economic accountability, the kolkhoz chairman went o But some ministries and departments take their ow view of this. Here, for instance, is how the Ministry Communications interprets self-financing. In its opi ion, kolkhozes should build automatic telephone st tions, and hand them over to the ministry for nothin The ministry is unable to do this for the countrysid itself. We asked: On what grounds? We received th reply, signed by the minister: On the grounds of a 19 USSR Council of Ministers resolution, as well as a 19 Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers resolution... Doc ments that help people to take money from the countr side are so very tenacious!

Today I declare quite clearly: There are no communic tions in the rayon and will not be, because the minist has secured the right to deduct money from the kol hozes' and sovkhozes' accounts without going throu the acceptance procedure, regardless of whether or n the telephone and radio center are working. It takes t money—so why should it worry about the countrysi having communications?

There is a similar situation with the Ministry of Power. [illegible] was invited to the people's court. A case was brought against the kolkhoz there, forcing it to pay an expenditure to a contract, also providing for the deduction of money from the kolkhoz account. The judge asked me: Why are you ignoring such-and-such a Council of Ministers resolution? I said: I am not ignoring it. I am only asking: Let the Ministry of Power give me a timetable showing when, in what month, there will be such-and-such a quantity of precipitation, and I will not switch on the high-power transformer.

Or take the planned work that costs us three or four times more than envisaged. Many intermediaries have appeared between the countryside and the city—many people seek to create prosperity for themselves at someone else's expense, and so the middle men become a snare for the rural economy. We ask the financial and control organs to resolve these questions and protect us from the unlawful acquisiton of unearned money by ministries and departments in the agrarian sector.

The speaker went on to speak of the need to improve material and technical supplies to farms and the formalism of labor legislation.

All these questions require urgent resolution, the speaker said in conclusion. I speak with feeling, because 40 years ago, when I was a senior foreman at the Kherson shipbuilding plant, I signed an application and went out to a machine and tractor station. We lived [illegible] Central Committee and the Council of Ministers [illegible] Plenum. [illegible] in the drafting of the document on rural [illegible]. I [illegible] the decision to [illegible] and [illegible] in the necessary spirit of [illegible] in our work [illegible].

[illegible] V.A. Medvedev, first secretary of the [illegible] Committee, Party Control Committee, noted in his speech, raised the [illegible] republic this year the form of social [illegible] is supporting the policy of restructuring. We seek to [illegible] political initiative and [illegible] people, revolutionize [illegible] the resolution of the practical tasks of [illegible] of the socialist society.

[illegible] about the path of restructuring we are accomplishing many problems and we believe that the most important of these is the [illegible] that we are to [illegible] success, we should analyze well the lessons of the past, because today we are already aware that we have [illegible] and a sound new basis for the development of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex as a whole.

In this connection, the speaker went on, we support the constructive proposals put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's report, in particular the provisions on increasing the

level of autonomy of the actual producer and handing over to the people the right to decide questions of the agro-industrial complex, and resolution of many other questions. All this means that the overcentralized administrative system—the chief cause of all our troubles—is really collapsing to the point of impotence.

We fully support the party's line toward a radical restructuring of production relations in the countryside and recognition of the fact that other forms of farming—people operating under leasing contracts, cooperatives, peasant holdings, and personal plots—should enjoy equal rights with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Allow me to mention that we purchase approximately 15 percent of meat and around 35 percent of milk from personal plots.

In our view, the speaker noted, peasant holdings have a promising future. The draft law on this venture which has been elaborated in the republic has evoked great interest among the population. We believe that the land should be handed over to those who work it for permanent use with a right of inheritance. Only then can people have a truly proprietary attitude toward the land. Another form of production relations—sharcholding [aktsionernyye]—has sprung up in the countryside and is producing good results.

establishment of new combines, state cooperative associations, agro-industrial complexes, and other [illegible] kolkhozes and sovkhozes, cooperatives, leasing [illegible], and family livestock units are being established on a voluntary basis. And although only the first steps have been taken, positive changes are being linked especially with the development of new economic relations.

It is unquestionable that much in the uncustomary forms of farming needs to be tested in practice. Neither must we turn a blind eye to the fact that innovations are difficult to introduce and are sometimes meeting with overt opposition both from managers and specialists, and rank-and-file workers. Time is needed to restore the lost spiritual values and reorient people's outlook, along with active, painstaking, and consistent organizational, party organizational, ideological, and educational work and universal elementary economic and vocational education on a mass scale.

The speaker expressed the view that the conditions which will help our country break out of the vicious circles of food shortages can be created only through renewal of the forms of the realization of sovkhoz and kolkhoz property, through leasing, economic accountability, self-management, cooperatives, individual family livestock units, and through a well-organized system of storage, processing, and marketing of produce.

price levels. In certain poorly supplied cities food prices [illegible] at reduced prices in the state trading system.

We must take a realistic look at the prevailing situation. It is necessary, the speaker said, to switch from overbearing administrative methods of purchasing agricultural products to a system whereby farms have a direct economic interest and sell as much raw materials and high-quality products as possible directly to consumers. Purchase prices should fully cover the real costs of production.

It is also necessary to introduce rigorous price parity in exchanges of industrial and agricultural goods and services.

The speaker also proposed setting prices for grain and other imported products at world price levels.

Food production, the speaker said in conclusion, involves the quickest turnover and returns. It should be given the priority it deserves in our national economy's economic structure.

N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, mounted the rostrum. On behalf of the republic's Communists and all its working people he wholly supported the proposals in M.S. Gorbachev's report.

We are well aware, the speaker said, that the opening up of the main fault lines [illegible] is the key question of the country's agrarian policy. [illegible] is the key question. The overriding task [illegible] the interests and rights of the farmer is land tenure. The continuation of this line of reasoning [illegible] is that this is far from being the case.

The style of running agriculture that has emerged over decades is not just a bitter [illegible] and is heavy. Even today, because of inertia in the operation of the country's [illegible] people continue to dictate what should be sown and how, and what products should be produced in what quantities. Last year's [illegible] approximately [illegible] of production volume for 1986-1990. [illegible] we are now [illegible] exploitation under the conditions of self-financing and the law on the enterprise.

The speaker discussed the measures taken in the republic to improve the rural economy and resolve social problems and consumer problems in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan. In the main, [illegible] a number of enterprises in the agroindustrial complex to increase food production by almost one-third and to triple construction of storage facilities for potatoes, fruit and vegetables. The integration of the public sector and private holdings (kolkhoz personal) in stockraising is being strengthened. Priority in increasing livestock and poultry numbers is being given to rural households.

This reserve has made it possible to increase meat and [illegible] but [illegible] for improvement in the supply of many products, cooperative meat, and sausage products.

Contract, cooperative, and lease elements in labor organization are the main factors in overcoming rural people's alienation from the land and farms. However, we need not only a law on leasing but also a scientific approach to its implementation. Here it is necessary to empower rayispolkoms to confiscate land irrationally used by kolkhozes and state enterprises and transfer it to leaseholders and cooperative and personal peasant farms.

The republic, the speaker said, is in need of small-scale farm mechanization and spare parts. It is economically more of an advantage for the lessee to recondition existing equipment than to acquire new equipment. It is necessary first of all to switch the supply of spare parts to the countryside to the wholesale trade sector. Revolutionary new approaches to planning are needed.

The speaker raised questions about the voluntary basis of the state order, the creation of a special reserve fund for purchase price increases in drought-affected years, and the reform of price formation in general, and touched on problems of ecology and the ecological renewal of the countryside.

For 3 years the oblast has been seeking, verifying, and [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] number of [illegible] Great Socialist Work Enterprises. [illegible] measures are being implemented for the development of the industrial processing base of the rural economy and social transformation of the countryside. This, however, [illegible] have not yet been developed. Re-addressing the solution of these very acute problems.

Everyone agrees that the countryside needs to be developed and developed comprehensively, but the formation of plans for current construction in the countryside continues to be done according to the residual principle. The main builder in the oblast is the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR. The volume of rural construction planned by this organization for the 5-year plan in accordance with the estimates for the first 3 years, from the data sheet for the year 2 000, [illegible] to exceed that for the past 5 years. There is reason to fear that the new plan range [illegible] be unattainable.

Many people are talking at the moment about creating [illegible] in the countryside. This is a marvelous idea. It needs to be made concrete. I think that for all to be necessary to give the countryside the complete complement of construction contracts, and guaranteed resources will come with them. I suggest that our political documents make it a principle to establish a priority for rural construction

when planning state orders for contract work, so that no farm loses its autonomy or its initiative. It should have to abide by this principle.

The speaker then talked about the need to expand the economic independence of the sector's working people. The lease system and cooperativization offer great opportunities here. This is clear from the example of the "Zybino" Sovkhoz. Last year there were 12, this year there are already 90 farms operating entirely in accordance with this sovkhoz's methods.

**One often hears people say that collective farms have not come good, that, in fact, they are the cause of the parlous situation in the countryside.**

**Of course, in places where the conditions exist, peasant farms must develop independently. But our modest experience shows that kolkhozes and sovkhozes operating on the basis of lease arrangements and true economic accountability are the best way. And we fully support the keynote speaker's principled conclusion to that effect. But economists must carry out a swifter analysis of this initial experience and elaborate the requisite economic and legal principles of our Soviet lease system and determine the ways of implementing socialist ownership. Not just criticize and reject practical efforts but scientifically substantiate them.**

M.S. Gorbachev. During a meeting at the Central Committee with those comrades who had taken part in the drafting of the documents for the plenum, I said that we had to work out the basic ideas and principles of the reform in the countryside, and then the Politburo would set up a commission to draft the necessary decisions. It is in the course of this work, and with the participation of the widest circles of the public, that the mechanisms for implementing the reforming principles will be worked out. This is where scientific assistance is needed. The whole point, Yuriy Vasilyevich, is to avoid the universal is criticizing. The task now is to be constructive in nothing.

Yu.V. Churbanov. Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich! Leadership of the agrarian complex at every level is being perfected in parallel with improvements in the organization of production management at the level of farms in the future. We have embarked on a course of creating cooperative agricultural associations on a voluntary basis and are forming auxiliary production cooperatives of persons owning and serving the farms. This is one part of the reorganization of management at [illegible]. I would say, in the conditions existing in our countryside, an entire complex of activities [illegible]. Almost the "grassroots" part of the [illegible] the party committee. This principle [illegible] delimiting state and economic functions in the management of the agrarian complex and making it fully effective. These innovations are meeting with great resistance, particularly in the upper echelons. Today the new forms are coming into conflict with the enormous layer of [illegible] and economic ties which [illegible] "integrating" the production-economic relations now developing.

In conclusion the speaker noted that the innovations have allowed rural workers in the oblast to achieve considerably higher labor productivity and output profit in the first 3 years of the 5-year period.

**It is quite obvious, V.S. Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, pointed out, that the party's agrarian policy has far from always answered the long-term aims of socialism and has sometimes been directly at variance with the interests of the peasantry. The documents submitted for discussion at the plenum clearly set the tasks of renewing economic relations in the countryside, effectively using the production potential created there, and changing the structure of investments. These and other measures will make it possible to increase grain production by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan and bring average per capita meat consumption in the country up to 80 kg and average per capita milk consumption up to 400 kg. As a whole, the production of foodstuffs must be increased by a factor of 1.5.**

*These are intensive tasks, the speaker emphasized, and nonstandard measures will be needed to solve them. We consider new approaches to the realization of forms of ownership to be fundamentally important, as well as the legitimacy of developing a multistructured socialist agriculture.*

At the same time, the speaker said, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been and remain the chief link in agroindustrial production. Understandably, both the moral and economic [illegible] from the V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz of Ukrainian SSR, have introduced a considerable element of calm into the undertaking of this sort. I feel that [illegible] cooperative form of production organization and self-management are the way to develop the peasant economy and the cooperation of these collectives.

Recognition of the right to [illegible] open up broad possibilities for developing independent peasant [illegible] in the countryside. This step must be taken to ensure that all restrictions are removed for [illegible] and for personal plots and equal economic conditions created with the public sector.

The speaker dwelt on questions of further improving [illegible] supply, [illegible] and improving the [illegible] and social system and improving the [illegible] of [illegible] production. The interests of the personal [illegible] and the market must increasingly come to [illegible] in the main regulators in the activity of farms. It is [illegible] that this must be [illegible] the elements [illegible] it about him. The state can effectively influence these processes through a flexible taxation system, investment and credit policy, and other levers.

Touching on the questions of planning and price formation, V.S. Murakhovskiy stressed the fundamental importance of the situation whereby farms have the right to determine for themselves the structure of production. At the same time, kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be allowed to voluntarily accept a state order, stimulating the fulfillment of this order with material and technical resources. Debating this with other speakers, he spoke in favor of retaining the state order for grain, meat, milk, and some other products in the 13th 5-Year Plan. After all, the order for food grain is formed only on the basis of the minimum of that required by the state.

M.S. Gorbachev. Comrades, let us consider the fact that when we say the words "interests of the state" this is often understood as something bureaucratic. That is incorrect. For example, what about cotton? This means the needs of the country's whole textile industry. It means the satisfaction of the needs of millions of people. That is what the interests of the state are.

V.S. Murakhovskiy. That is why the fulfillment of the state order is obligatory. Freedom of economic management must be combined with the greatest responsibility for the fulfillment of the state order and with discipline.

The speaker dwelt on questions of the basis of the new economic relations and the social development of the countryside and on measures to improve management in the agro-industrial complex.

Ye.I. Chazov, USSR health minister, recalled that there was a time when people went from the town to the country for their health. Now it is the other way round. We say that we have a manpower shortage in the agro-industrial complex yet each day 750,000 working people fail to come to work because of illness.

The minister dwelt on the state of the material and technical base of health care in the countryside, the turnover of medical staff, and the low standard of health and hygiene in the countryside.

We are adopting decisions on the provision of gas and heat supplies to the country—they can only be welcomed. But let us give the rural dweller good quality drinking water first of all. After all, at present only 36 percent of the rural population have a good quality central water supply. The first steps which the republics are now taking to improve the water supply led last year to a 10 percent fall in the incidence of typhoid fever and a 17 percent fall in the occurrence of viral hepatitis.

It doesn't take tens of billions to resolve most of these questions just as it surely doesn't need a special resolution of the party Central Committee. What it needs is simple attention to these questions by party and soviet organs and the leaders of the agro-industrial complex.

Of course, the countryside's social problems are not confined to health and hygiene, the speaker said. There is also the problem of preschool institutions, which are in short supply in the countryside, and schools, which have many problems of their own. The main problem which particularly worries country dwellers is the shortcomings in medical aid and the way that its standard lags behind that in the cities. We need to urgently build hospitals in rayon centers and out-patient clinics in villages possibly using all resources, including those of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We need to develop and produce large numbers of mobile out-patient clinics, dental surgeries, and so forth. We need an adequate number of ambulances with high all-surface performance. We also need new economic and financial mutual relations between kolkhozes and sovkhozes and health care institutions. And finally, we need a package of measures to recruit and retain medical staff in the countryside.

Many kolkhoz chairmen say: "Help to free our hands in our mutual relations with medical institutions. Why should a veterinarian who treats an animal on a kolkhoz be given up to nine times his salary for good work whereas the doctor who gives good medical treatment to the members of our kolkhoz has no bonus entitlement? Why can we not sell meat and dairy products to children's medical institutions at cost price and include those sales in the fulfillment of the state purchase plan? After all, those institutions receive those same products from the state." But we are dealing with the main issue here—people.

M.S. Gorbachev's report, as N.I. Malkov, first secretary of Chita party obkom, noted, fully reflected the dramatic history of our countryside and the solution of the food problem and put forward proposals on questions of the party's agrarian policy in present day conditions which, undoubtedly, will be supported by working people in the countryside and all the people.

At the same time, I believe that the draft resolutions presented for examination still do not fully meet the conclusions and provisions of the report.

First, the question of land. It would be expedient to conduct a complete inventory of land in the country, both that in the possession of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and that forming part of state stocks.

Second, the question of the priority of the socioeconomic development of the agro-industrial complex. It is essential to increase substantially expenditure on both production and nonproduction construction. These issues have become extremely exacerbated in the Transbaykal area.

Third, kolkhoz and sovkhoz debts. I think it essential to write off kolkhoz and sovkhoz loan debts. This will be fair. Part of our debt to the countryside will thus be repaid.

Fourth, the development of leasing relations. While fully supporting the conclusions and assessments formulated in the report, I would like to stress once again that it is impermissible to implant lease relations by force. In terms of people's psychological perception and the state of material and technical backup for leaseholders, the countryside is still unready for leasing in many respects. The desire not to fall behind is leading to the purely formal creation of lease collectives and the discrediting of the very idea of leasing.

A few words about the situation in our oblast's agro-industrial complex. In recent years we have had some success in stepping up the work of party organizations and cadres to overcome the extremely neglected development of the countryside in Chita Oblast. Average annual agricultural output during this period did increase to the level of the 11th 5-Year Plan. However, there has been no radical breakthrough in food provision.

I think it essential to dwell on such a long-unsolved issue as fine-wooled sheep raising. It represents almost 70 percent of the oblast's livestock raising. If it is to be developed the oblast must be spared the need to supply meat to the union republic stock, or at least have it's supply quote substantially cut down.

The speaker then went on to talk about the need to ensure equivalent exchange between the agrarian sector and industry. While the question of raising purchase prices for agricultural produce was resolved with openness and glasnost, the decisions on the considerable increase in prices for equipment, industrial and construction materials, services, and so forth were mostly taken in silence. And those decisions completely nullified the good intentions to help the countryside. The mechanism to monitor the equivalence of economic relations, which have to be developed in accordance with our plenum's instructions, should strictly and reliably regulate all breaches of this balance.

I think that regions whose socioeconomic development has been neglected, such as the Non-Chernozem Zone, the Transbaykal area, and certain others, should be given priority status. It would also be expedient to redirect up to 60 percent of the construction capacities of the ministry of water resources construction [Minvodstroy] to the construction of roads in rural localities. It is essential to set up a trust of that ministry in our oblast. I also think that the Ministry of Power and Electrification must finally speed up the electrification of the Transbaykal countryside. That ministry's actions are bewildering, to say the least. Its electrification plans are not backed up by resources and are not being implemented.

R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, then took the floor. While approving the ideas contained in the General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and Social Sphere of Union Republics, the speaker noted, we appreciate that every region and republic must first and foremost mobilize its own resources and potential. Here it is very important to clearly define the economic priorities too: Does economic autonomy mean that every region and republic shuts itself up within its own administrative and territorial "quarters" and, what's more, locks the door behind it? I believe that we cannot allow even attempts of this nature—they would have the most pernicious consequences.

I am certain that the real point and goal of the planned transformations is to ensure that the natural economic potential of each republic is utilized with maximum efficiency and return to meet both the needs of its own population to the fullest extent and increase its contribution to the country's integrated national economic complex.

As the draft documents which have been submitted stress, Uzbekistan retains its specialization in cotton production. But I would like to note that specialization in cotton growing has nothing in common with cotton as a monoculture.

It would also be expedient for raw cotton purchases to be stabilized for a number of years. And we will improve sowing patterns. Payments into the republic budget of part of the turnover tax on output produced in other regions from the raw material produced by us could serve as a good economic incentive here. It is also necessary to refine other variants of economically accountable relations and purchase prices for cotton, wool, silkworm cocoons, and kenaf in order to generate as much interest as possible in increasing the efficiency of their production. In addition there must be accelerated development of cotton processing in the areas where it is produced, where there are great manpower resources. An urgent improvement in the irrigation situation is needed.

The emergence of the agro-industrial complex from its parlous state, the speaker stressed in conclusion, depends first and foremost on competent and enterprising organizational and political work by us. The republic's party, soviet, and economic bodies realize that the inadequate return from irrigated areas results from the as yet poor readiness of our cadres to work in the new way, the slow introduction of intensive techniques, the lag in selection and seed breeding, and the lax attention paid to the dissemination of advanced experience.

A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, made an assessment of the situation in the RSFSR agro-industrial complex. The food situation in the republic remains complex. In the last 8 years more than R200 billion in capital investment has been channeled into agricultural development. As a result fixed capital has grown by 62 percent, but gross output has grown by only 19 percent.

In the republic increases in agricultural production efficiency are being persistently sought, and economic accountability and cooperative and lease relations are being introduced.

This is not going easily. There are elements of not only underestimation of but also resistance to the new developments. Leaseholders are often allocated unproductive land and old equipment and are made to pay excessively high charges for various types of services.

The speaker ardently supported the proposal for the accelerated development of individual farms. Peasant plots account for one-fourth of the meat, milk, and vegetables, half of the fruits and berries, and around 60 percent of the potatoes produced in the republic. But of the 14 million personal plots today more than half do not have cattle or cows and almost two-thirds do not keep hogs and sheep, primarily because the necessary conditions have not been created for this. Large-scale measures are needed to create a specialized industry to produce small-scale mechanization facilities, power units, and other equipment.

Rural social problems merit special attention. In the last 8 years 4.5 million people have left the Russian countryside, and every year around 3,000 rural settlements disappear from the map of Russia. This is an alarming symptom. The republic Council of Ministers bears the responsibility for the fact that the plans for commissioning hospitals, preschool facilities, clubs, and culture centers were not fulfilled last year and departmental barriers in resolving social tasks have not been overcome.

The speaker advocated a transition to new planning principles and the further democratization of production relations in the agrarian sector of the economy. In this connection he stressed: The state order must not be allowed to turn into a disguised form of strong-arm method. There is a need for additional work on these questions, with republics, krays, and oblasts participating. Maybe the state order could be set at 70-80 percent of the average annual procurement level over the last 5 years, with incentives being developed to attract additional grain into state resources.

We are aware of our responsibility for the Russian Federation's contribution to resolving the Food Program.

I.S. Boldyrev, first secretary of Stavropol Party Kraykom, pointed out that livestock units that successfully combine cooperative, lease, and other forms of relations with the kolkhoz or sovkhoz achieve the best results. It seems advisable to adopt the following approach: New forms should be sought and established from below, while the center should do its utmost to support promising ventures.

Hasty ill-considered decisions have a particularly palpable impact on the implementation of the Food Program. This is because the managerial apparatus fails to take responsibility for its decisions and, on the other hand, no sufficiently reliable mechanism has been set up to protect the peasantry's long-term interests.

While working under conditions of economic accountability and self-financing, kolkhozes and sovkhozes sense particularly acutely the lack of a mechanism to protect them from unreliable suppliers. In agriculture, where the fate of output can be decided in a few hours, interruptions in supplies of electricity, gas, water, and fuel produce great shortfalls in output and have a perceptible impact on the economy. It is time to extend to relations between agricultural enterprises and their partners the general rule of civil legislation which provides for full damages, covering not only the loss incurred but also the loss of income.

Then the speaker said that the process of improving the rural economy is being undermined by the rapid price increases for industrial output. Owing to a short-sighted policy on the part of certain state organs, we are forced to annually feed livestock with up to 1 million tonnes of high-quality wheat. One wonders, does the country really not need this grain? If it does, then why do we not elaborate a mechanism to provide incentives for the sale of this high-quality grain on advantageous terms for farms? The practice of selling equipment and materials in return for above-plan purchases opens up definite prospects here.

The strengthening of kolkhozes' and sovkhozes' financial situation has enabled them to channel funds that they have earned under conditions of self-financing into social objectives. Another substantial source of finance is rural inhabitants' personal savings. Rural workers are keen to invest their money in housing construction, gas and water pipelines, and road construction. Additional material resources must be found to speed up the social development of the countryside. In this connection it has become acutely necessary to review in detail the country's supply links and make legal provision for this by elaborating a law on self-management and the local economy.

The people of Stavropol Kray, the speaker said, share the alarm of the country's public that large funds invested in land reclamation are not producing the requisite return. However, in our kray irrigated land, while amounting to 6 percent of all farmland, produces almost 25 percent of crop farming's gross output. This entitles us to raise the question of further developing land reclamation.

But recently there has been increasing nihilism in society with regard to land reclamation, various types of power generation, and chemical production facilities. There is no doubt that we must consider the environment, and in a very thorough manner. But we cannot and must not miss an opportunity for our development. Objective and in-depth recommendations from scientists are needed here.

K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, took the rostrum. The theses and conclusions contained in M.S. Gorbachev's report, he said, require urgent necessary steps to be taken. The draft documents that have been prepared encompass the resolution of major questions in the country's agro-industrial complex, and we support them.

The speaker dwelt on certain questions of fundamental importance for Tajikistan. The republic's population, he pointed out, has only 0.11 hectares of irrigated land per capita. The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is virtually bringing no new land under irrigation, citing the Aral problem. True, the Aral Sea must be rescued, but we must do everything to meet the food needs of the republic's 5-million population.

For many years the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, along with its planning and scientific organizations, has been working to create water-saving technology and manufacture special equipment and hardware. But where is this equipment, one wonders? Why does nobody produce it in the quantities needed?

We have learned to develop orchards and vineyards on suitably moist nonirrigated land, but vegetables, potatoes, and food crops grow mainly on irrigated land under our conditions.

Realizing the full complexity of the situation, the speaker stressed, last year the republic cut water consumption norms per unit of output and introduced charges for water used over and above the norms laid down. And, it should be said, the effect was positive. As of this year this provision is being introduced throughout the republic.

Moreover, in order to resolve the food problem certain structural changes are needed in the republic's agro-industrial complex production. There is still not enough land for the needs of the food complex. Meanwhile cotton production has found itself in a difficult position. The wages of people working in cotton production have now started falling. And if we do not resolve this problem in the next year or so many people will give up cotton production.

One of the most complex questions which has generated heated argument and discussion is the restructuring of economic relations in the agro-industrial complex and the running of the agro-industrial complex. I would like to say one thing: If the question of farms' material and technical supply is not resolved we will again suffer failure.

The speaker also dwelt on the problems of improving economic relations in the agro-industrial complex and on ecological issues, and criticized certain parts of the mass media, whose coverage has not promoted the development of the republic's industry.

Our virgin land is into its 35th spring, N.V. Gellert, machine operator at Kazakhstan's Amangelda Sovkhoz, said. There are many people in this auditorium whose careers have been bound up with the opening up of the new lands. And although we do not have time at the moment to celebrate anniversaries, I would like to congratulate the virgin land workers. The virgin lands are alive and well and producing grain! The brunt of the work today is falling to the second generation of virgin land workers—that is, us.

We set up team contracts in the early eighties with the help of the raykom secretary, and we worked like partisans. Each independent step we took was blocked. Things reached the point that when we started harvesting in 1985 without any orders from above, we were not given any transportation for unloading the grain.

The restructuring period started with the replacement of the management at the rayon agro-industrial association and a stream of directives and orders issuing forth from that department's swollen services.

But, in the stubborn hope of becoming masters of our own fields, we soon switched to lease contracts. Our entire work has involved enough nervous strain to open up new virgin lands. Just imagine that the administration concludes even the lease contract with us not for 5 years, as recommended, but for just 1 year. This time we were promised that a contract would for some reason be concluded only after the plenum. Clearly, our leader is not sure that he is living in a new period or that restructuring has reached our sovkhoz.

The question is as clear as day: If grain farmers, stockraisers, and crop farmers are entitled to conduct independent economic activity, that would mean putting two-thirds of managers out of a job. The bureaucracy has beaten us and will continue to do so until the party and the soviets bring about a really revolutionary turnaround on this issue.

The well-known machine operator went on to talk about the need to make a land inventory and raised the question of improving Soviet-made tractors.

In your report yesterday, Mikhail Sergeyevich, N.V. Gellert said, you spoke of peasants' poor attitude toward equipment. But what conditions have we been put in? The temperature is minus 40 degrees, the equipment is still on the street, everything is freezing, it is only the engine that we warm with blow lamps and torches, all the rest must turn at this temperature. There is a shortage of antifreeze and tassol [tassol] and we work with summer fuel in the winter and our equipment stands around like crippled tanks while the fields surround us in a radius of 40 km.

In desperation we are obliged to do the inadmissible—we dismantle one tractor down to the chassis for spare parts.

The continuing practice of mass campaigns in agriculture is also worrying. So far the press has not had a single critical remark to make about leasing—there is only praise and more praise. But surely the formula cannot be the same for a small Non-Chernozem Zone field and for a "sector" of 200-400 hectares on virgin land? Surely all sectors of agriculture cannot be managed with equal success by just one method—leasing? Later we will have to rectify the excesses. And people are already starting to wonder: Perhaps the reason why bureaucracy is so strong is because on each occasion it explains our errors to us and teaches us how to put them right and then introduces new ones?

A.A. Ananyev, chief editor of the journal OKTYABR, noted at the start of his speech that today peasants' farms have been put on an unequal footing with kolkhozes and sovkhozes, especially when it is a case of supplying tractors, means of mechanization, and so forth. I think, he said, that the peasant farm should receive the status of the primary cell of life. Only then will the peasant feel that he is truly the owner standing on his own land, a participant in a statewide matter. The peasant's labor is inconceivable without land. The land should be our eternal provider and we must take very powerful and strict measures with regard to the land and its use. But in the speaker's opinion the draft which has been prepared does not encourage concern for the land's safekeeping.

Estonian Communists are deeply convinced that the present Central Committee plenum should elaborate radical measures to restructure the entire agro-industrial complex and its management, said V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. And it is very rightly that people have repeatedly stated today from this rostrum that the arable farmer must be peasantized, that he must be made the owner of the land and the means of production, and that a maximum of favorable organizational, economic, and legal conditions must be created for him to display his enterprise. In our view, that is the main component of the party's present agrarian policy. M.S. Gorbachev's report said this precisely and clearly, with party principledness and conviction. And we see in this a victory for the new thinking, a real shoot of restructuring.

What are our specific deeds and thoughts, the speaker continued. On the basis of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum we are planning to effect a drastic shift in the system of economic relations. At the same time the key link here—rural construction—is suffocating for lack of materials like cement, metal, and sanitary equipment, which are released to us in accordance with strict stocks and quotas. It is for this reason that up to 20 percent of the agrarian construction sector are unused.

We support the need for the flexible combination of different forms of socialist ownership. That means the extensive introduction of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and cost recovery on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the comprehensive development of agro-industrial combines, agricultural firms, science and production associations, joint-stock companies, the contract, and the lease, the development of the cooperative movement, the creation of family farms and individual farms, and the resurrection of private smallholdings. Here every rayon and farm determines independently and on the spot which forms are expedient for it and most suitable under specific conditions.

We are backing measures to elaborate and adopt a law on the land that envisages: the possibility of transferring land to farmers for their perpetual use, together with inheritance rights; the organization of the production of simple and cheap agricultural equipment for farms and other minor forms of production; the conversion of certain union enterprises in the republic for that purpose; the elaboration of a system of state social security and insurance for the peasants; a greater amount of credit for the development of farms.

We see the implementation of republic economic accountability as the key to the improvement of the situation in agriculture, the speaker said. In this connection he dwelt on questions of price formation for livestock raising products purchased in the republic in the form of a state order and touched on the question of increasing the production of food protein in the republic. The Estonian SSR could increase its contribution in this area. It is necessary above all to improve the provision of high-quality dairy products for the country: cheese, butter, whole milk. We consider it advisable to somewhat reduce deliveries of meat and meat products to all-union stocks and in so doing increase milk and dairy products supplies by approximately 20 percent by the end of the next 5-year plan compared with 1985.

In conclusion he noted that there had been a serious party discussion at the plenum. But it needs a great deal of bold party energy and responsibility to convert the words into action more rapidly. And we can say on behalf of the Estonian party organization and on behalf of the Estonian peasant that we are ready to do this.

I think that everyone will agree, Altay party kraykom First Secretary F.V. Popov said, that our discussion today is one of exceptional historic importance. The plenum must give and certainly will give new momentum to the revolutionary transformation of economic arrangements in the agro-industrial complex.

Clearly, everyone is agreed that the main idea of the reform in the agro-industrial complex must be that of putting the rural worker back in proper charge of the land. No one really has any doubt now that cooperatives and the lease system—within the framework of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, that is—must form the basis of the agro-industrial complex and can ensure the requisite pace of agricultural development. But in order to rapidly disseminate these forms it is necessary to eliminate the

contradictions that occur between enterprising lessees and cooperative workers and the swaddling effect of the administrative edict system as applied to kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The draft resolutions that have been prepared take a step forward in this direction and incorporate a very important provision on granting practically complete independence to the producers themselves. The state order will remain only for the transitional period. It is a very significant idea, but it requires amplification and refinement. In order to eliminate admimistrative pressure, in the first place the state order must be formed on the basis of the voluntary conclusion of contracts with producers. Second, material and technical resources and financial credits must be equally available to all solvent labor collectives or individual lessees. If the state order for the kray were to be established at grassroots level now, production of industrial and forage crops would certainly be cut. At the same time, we would increase sales of high-quality wheat, meat, and milk. That is at the existing price level. An excessive order for grain means that it has to be sown even in areas where feed crops ought to be grown. At the same time, what is the sense in shipping grain out of the kray when it could be processed into livestock raising products on the spot, without losses and transport costs.

An indispensable condition of economic independence is full economic accountability. However, at present only 15 percent of the kray's farms can function and develop normally. There are, of course, farms among the weak farms which it would be expedient to liquidate and to create cooperatives, labor peasant holdings, and leasing collectives on their basis. However, there are not many farms of this kind. The cause of the troubles of the overwhelming majority of the other farms is largely due to nonequivalent low prices for produce. In order to rectify the situation it is necessary to create a pricing mechanism which would ensure the normal conduct of agro-industrial production. In addition, we cannot get by without a one-shot write-off of at least a part of the kolkhozes' and sovkhozes' debt.

Simultaneously with the implementation of the economic reform it is necessary to adopt measures to ensure the retooling of agriculture within the shortest possible time. Altay Kray is also one of the most promising zones for the development of irrigation.

As a member of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Agrarian Policy I have taken part in the elaboration of the proposals submitted to the plenum, I.G. Grintsov, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said in his speech. I believe that the specific economic mechanism for the implementation of the political guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee plenum will have to be further elaborated by the USSR Gosplan and ministries and departments. It must not be allowed, however, that important party decisions are eroded by departmental instructions. The Gosplan must elaborate scientifically substantiated norms for deliveries of grain and livestock and other produce, taking account of the natural and economic features of the country's various regions and of population and agricultural production structures.

In our view, the premises on which are based the output and delivery volumes under state orders for goods to be supplied to the all-union stock in the 13th 5-Year Plan also need to be clarified because the financial position of the farms depends, among other things, also on the realistic nature of the plans. After all, we proceed from the fact that the plans must be realistic and well balanced and backed without fail by material and technical resources. Sales over and above the order must be encouraged by means of prices. A number of questions has arisen, the speaker said, which demand solution by union organs, and this does not concern the Ukraine alone. We are faced with a situation today where half the kolkhozes and sovkhozes operating in conditions of self-financing are unable to engage in expanded high-speed reproduction on the basis of their own resources. The burden of old debts is weighing them down.

In our view it has been rightly proposed that the USSR Council of Ministers should be instructed to analyze once again the situation concerning the farms' indebtedness as a result of past credits, and to write off a number of these debts.

We have long been concerned at the question of the equivalence of the exchange between industry and agriculture. According to the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, wholesale prices for fuel, mineral and raw material resources, machinery, construction materials, fertilizers and services to the countryside have, over the past 25 years, risen faster than purchase prices. This has resulted in distortions and disproportions in the intersectoral structure. Unless strict price parity is introduced, a successful solution of the food problem can hardly be expected.

All Soviet people have been waiting for this plenum, N.V. Pereverzeva, machine operator on Rostov Oblast's "Put Lenina" Kolkhoz, said. After all, the life of our people and the prosperity of the country depend on its decisions.

However, when the question is raised as to whether kolkhozes are to be or not to be, I, as a simple kolkhoz member, am simply horrified at this formulation of the question. It seems to me that at the moment, especially, it is necessary to look for and find new ways and forms of managing kolkhozes. They have become larger, so it is probably because of this that they are somewhat cumbersome and difficult to manage. For precisely this reason it is necessary to create small-scale leases, as we refer to them, on the kolkhozes.

I worked in a link for many years. Such links and detachments sought good indicators, their discipline is high, and people understand their responsibility. That is why I believe that the best form of labor organization is the lease. The speaker supported this viewpoint with specific examples from her farm.

However, our kolkhozes, she went on to say, still have an inadequate supply of good equipment, and prices for it are high. Some equipment may be in the blueprint stage but it already has a price. We already know how much this machinery costs.

But its real price should be determined when it is involved in our work and when the machine operators are learning how to use it. And if it is really good it may even rise in price—to its limit. But afterward—not initially.

I have been working for many years, I began on trailer combines, worked on all the self-propelled vehicles, and in 1982 I switched to the Don-1500. And I can tell you that this is a very good machine. All our equipment for the countryside should be more reliable. That is very important now.

There is another point. The question of abandoned land is being raised now. As a grain grower and as a woman it grieves me to think about this. Resources are being allocated to bring roads to these lands and send people there, but those resources are not enough. And it is not just a question of resources. Fresh forces are needed.

And we have produced quite a few of them now. Many young specialists have graduated from their institutes and gained practical experience. I think that these young, energetic people who are seeking independence should also be sent to these lands so as to work there, to lead, and to win people over. After all, for the peasant the land is the most important thing in life.

N.M. Olshanskiy, USSR minister of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers, reported to the plenum that in the first 3 years of the 5-year plan only 2.4 million tonnes out of the 5 million tonnes of new fertilizer production capacity due to be commissioned have actually been commissioned. Thus the rate of creation of new fertilizer production capacities and the modernization of existing ones has fallen to danger level. And it is patently obvious that to reach the target for increasing fertilizer supplies in 1995 by 10 million tonnes it is necessary to at least double the rate of construction and reduce losses in transit from the plant to the field. This can be achieved by expanding storage premises.

At the same time, it seems to us that simply to build up mineral fertilizers is not quite the right path. It is necessary to balance chemical fertilizers with organic fertilizers, sapropel, and peat. It is necessary to really tackle the deoxidization of the soil. It is necessary to resolutely change the balance between the application of fertilizers and the use of plant-protection agents.

In the current 5-year plan, the minister said, we have planned to spend around R700 million on nature conservancy in 1986-1990, but to be honest, instead of creating environmental protection facilities, republic, kray, oblast, and other local organs recently embarked on the hasty closure and mothballing of chemicals production units. This applies first and foremost to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and Volgograd, Leningrad, Odessa, and some other oblasts. But those same oblasts are asking for additional fertilizers and pesticides and the country is buying them at a cost of hundreds of millions of rubles in foreign currency. I do not believe that this is the restructuring line.

I think it is a mistake that the apparatus of ministries, and sometimes also ministers, make accusations that we are against glasnost, and that we are against criticism. Having worked for more than 2 years as a minister, I can say with confidence that this is not so. We are in favor of glasnost and criticism. But businesslike, objective, fair, and honest criticism. Glasnost should not be confused with irresponsibility. For example, the poet Voznesenskiy wrote an article "Poetry Without Nitrates," which was published by IZVESTIYA. In it he writes that in Denmark and Holland the law forbids the use of chemical fertilizers. In fact there is no such law there. In Denmark more than 300 kg are applied per hectare of plowland, and in Holland—800 kg. I do not share the stance of the esteemed writer Adyl Yakubov, who published an article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA which says that in Uzbekistan more than 50 kg of different pesticides are used per hectare of plowland whereas in fact 4.5 kg is used per hectare. Unfortunately, many such examples can be cited.

I reackon I cannot share such glasnost and criticism.

We have recently had the session of the Union Council of Kolkhozes, its chairman I.I. Kukhar said, at which the questions of the fate of our peasants and our villages were posed very acutely. We say that we are giving the peasant freedom, and we are guaranteeing him the freedom to work. Indeed, this is so. We adopted the Law on Cooperatives in the USSR. The Model Kolkhoz Charter, on the basis of which the charter of each kolkhoz is being formulated, has been adopted. But why isn't everyone now adhering to the Law on Cooperatives, why isn't everyone taking into consideration the Model Charter? We asked the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to give the Model Charter the status of a legal document. We were told that this could not be done. This question must be resolved—this is our kolkhoz workers' mandate.

Today questions of various kinds of deductions from kolkhozes are very worrying. Today, indeed, we must pay for everything, but we must look carefully at what is being paid for and how. For example, different firms—

"Zerno," "Kukuruza," "Raps"—have been set up. And a great deal of money has to be deducted for the fact that these firms keep seeds and their representatives turn up at the farm two or three times. Equipment prices have risen sharply. The kolkhozes need to be protected economically.

Then the speaker talked about the necessity for a more vigorous solution for kolkhoz workers of questions of social security and the pension provision.

Today we need to pose the question of strengthening even more the alliance of workers and peasants. I believe that the trade unions are not doing enough work in this sphere today. No one even recalled the trade unions, yet this is the force which unites the working class and the peasants.

The most difficult problem with which science has a direct connection is, VASKHNIL President A.A. Nikonov said, to bring our agrarian economy out of its extensive and expenditure-based condition and to turn it into an efficient and high-technology sector.

The speaker singled out the problem of feed protein among science's acute and unresolved problems. This is significantly hampering the growth of meat and milk production. Now the role of science is increasing sharply. It must be strong. The report was right in mentioning its shortcomings, the comrades who spoke were correct in their criticism.

We have many shortcomings: Both sluggishness and also our laggardness behind the world standard, and we have a great deal to put right concerning socioeconomic and biological problems. During restructuring in many of the country's regions many new forms of labor organization are emerging in the countryside, and we are not succeeding in making a major study of them. Now we are starting to tackle leasing seriously. In the near future the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and our leaseholders will receive a great deal of materials and educational aids on leasing. But we have never, the speaker stated, given the country's leadership useless magic wands, as some people have tried to accuse us in the press and in debates.

We are striving, he continued, to conscientiously fulfill the 1987 resolution on restructuring agricultural science. With assistance from the State Committee for Science and Technology we are switching to the competitive system of planning and finance, and we have introduced economic accountability in all institutes. But in the "science-production" system the third linking component was missing. Research is being carried out in institutes, developments are being verified on experimental farms, and superior material is being cultivated there—and there it stops. Now we are trying to fill this gap with science and production systems. We shall expand them and proceed along the path of contractual consultative groups and centers, and introduce other forms spawned during restructuring.

The poor material and technical base is severely reducing the effectiveness of scientific developments.

The speaker then expressed alarm in connection with the planned switch of sectoral scientific complexes to a newly created commission for foodstuffs and purchases. In his opinion, the switching of this group of head institutes with their experimental base in the system of VASKHNIL and other departments will virtually mean that science will be a continuation of the administrative apparatus. If we now squeeze administrative methods out of production, then they may emerge in agricultural science. Receptiveness to scientific developments, he said, is the key to accelerating scientific and technical progress. And we shall follow this path.

M.S. Gorbachev gave the concluding speech. It will be published in the press.

### Republics Debate Government Orders

*LD1603175189 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Harmonising the interests of all people and aspirations of separate work collectives, areas and regions is one of the most difficult but necessary tasks of perestroyka. The discussion at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee illustrated that a collective farm manager, leader of a republic and minister see some problems of the agro-industry complex differently. This applies, in part, to government orders for mandatory amounts and assortments of products to be sold to state organisations. Several participants in the plenum favoured a drop in govenrment orders. This point of view was expressed, in part, by Algirdas Brazauskas, leader of the Lithunain Communists, who considers the state-placed orders for meat too hefty for the republic. Responding to him, Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers who heads the USSR agro-industrial committee, recalled that Lithuania itself takes delivery from union state funds of grain, fertilizers, fuel, machines, and equipment. Union funds, too, depend on Lithuanian supplies not less than Lithuania itself on these funds.

Supporters of government orders alluded also to the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. They pointed out that the economic incentive system in Hungary has brought about the situation where farms are eager to receive a state order. In Czechoslovakia, where food is in ample supply, the state nevertheless places orders with farms for meat and grain, allowing it to give more attention to pursue social policies.

The debate at the plenum also revealed divisions in land improvement evaluation. Opponents of extending land improvement work cited examples when the implementation of large-scale projects caused damage to land resources. The arguments of those supporting land improvement sounded no less plausible. Ivan Boldyrev, first secretary of the Stavropol regional committee of the

CPSU, spoke about the inadmissibility of a one-sided approach to this problem. It is exactly thanks to land improvement that grain production from one hectare in the region is at the level of 80 centners, which is approximately two times as high as the country's average level. Another speaker, Kakhar Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, noted that land improvement was vitally needed by his arid republic. The speech by Nina Pereverzeva, member of the collective farm "Put Lenina" (Lenin's path) in the Rostov region, southern Russia, was emotional. One can now hear talk about whether collective farms should exist in future, she said. How would we look in the eyes of those generations of collective farmers who created collective farms, overcame enormous difficulties, fed the country during the war, fought themselves, and then restored the war-ravaged economy? Collective farms do call today for new ways of development, new forms of their management. The best forms to raise worker productivity have been found now. These are teams of workers operating on contracts of lease. These small collectives of lease-holders within the framework of collective farms can breathe new life into the economy.

The words of Ivan Kukhar, chairman of the Union Council of Collective Farms, were consonant with Nina Pereverzeva's speech. He spoke about the people's historic duty to the collective farm peasantry. It was infringed upon in many respects. Time has come now to service the debt, he said.

Aleksandr Nikonov, president of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, was the last to take the floor. He underlined the importance of turning agricultural science into an effective branch. The binding link in the science-production system has until now been absent. Today, this gap is being bridged. New forms come into being during perestroyka, under which science goes directly into production. Lease and profit-and-loss accounting spur both teams of scientists and farm workers to a more dedicated work. Given all the diversity of the problems raised during the debate, speakers were unanimous in supporting one of the fundamental theses of Mikhail Gorbachev's report concerning the need to assure economic, social and legal foundations for the revival of the peasants the master of production.

A total of 24 people took part in the debate.

Mikhail Gorbachev delivered the concluding remarks.

### TASS Analyst on Plenum Results

*LD1603221289 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

Soviet people see in the decisions of the plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee held to discuss the party's agrarian policy in present-day conditions, that ended on Thursday, the ways to overcome the crisis state of the country's agriculture, are looking for and finding a fundamental answer to the question whether the socialist agrarian sector is capable of fulfilling the food programme.

All the problems that were set out in the report of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and were discussed in speeches of participants in the plenum are equally important and topical for our future. But all the peasants, and not they alone, pin the greatest hopes on the solution of one of these problems. How can man's alienation from means of production be overcome and a sense of being true master regained? Much, if not everything, depends on correct guidelines in this area.

Describing perestroyka as a revolutionary process Soviet people realise that the question of property is a vital question of any revolution. Suffice it to recall the political slogans proclaimed by the October revolution: Land to the peasants, Factories and plants to the workers, Power to the soviets, Peace to nations. But it is a fact that leaders of the post-Lenin period ensured that not much has remained of these great goals of the revolution. So it was sadly admitted at the plenum that it is far from always that the party's agrarian policy has been in keeping with long- term goals of socialism, that at times it was directly opposite to the interests of the peasantry. Equating state property with nation-wide property and regarding it as the only type of property corresponding to the socialist ideal, the theoreticians of a "speedy" development of socialism thus asigned to man the role of a day-laborer who is indifferent to the results of his work.

The matter is not that collective and state farms be disbanded everywhere, but that dynamism be imparted to their work and that advantages of a large mechanised enterprise be combined with the advantages of new forms of relations in production. It is necessary to realise the need for using diverse forms of economic management so as not to repeat the mistakes of the past. A peasant should not be told what kind of an economy he should create and where he should create it. Uniformity should not be established from above.

This is why speakers at the plenum appraised so highly the provisions in Mikhail Gorbachev's report about the need for a transition to the development of agricultural production on the basis of diverse forms of possession, use and management of property, equal economic conditions and rights for collective and state farms, leaseholders, cooperatives and peasant's farms. Each of these forms should be developing depending on natural and economic conditions, specific features of economic ties, local traditions and should in no case depend on voluntaristic whims of the bureaucratic apparatus.

In this connection support was expressed for constructive proposals in the report of the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee to enhance independence of producers, to transfer functions of the management of the agro-industrial complex and solution of many other questions to union republics. All this means that the overly centralised administrative system, the main cause of all the ailments of the agrarian sector of the Soviet economy, is being demolished.

Many speakers at the plenum dwelt on questions of refining commodity-money relations, consolidating the financial-crediting system, balancing money circulation. The opinion has prevailed that the interests of producers, contractual relations and the market must increasingly become the main regulators. Does this mean that we are unleashing the elements? No, it does not. The state can influence these processes effectively through a flexible system of taxes, through the investment and crediting policy and other levers. The time has come to put in order the system of subsidies to weak enterprises, so as not to encourage parasitic tendencies and not to create social injustice.

The documents endorsed by the plenum have clearly set the tasks to renew economic relations in the countryside, to use effectively the production potential created there earlier, to change the structure of investments. These and other measures will make it possible to increase the output of grain by the end of the 13th five-year period and to bring the average per capita consumption of meat to 80 kilograms and of milk to 400 kilograms. On the whole the output of foodstuffs in the USSR is to be increased by 50 percent.

Many things in the forms of economic managment to which we are not accustomed must surely be verified by life. One should not lose sight of the fact that new things catch on with difficulty and are met at times with obvious opposition by managers and specialists, and also by rank-and-file workers. It takes time and vigorous, painstaking and consistent organisational, party, ideological and educational work, large-scale study of economic sciences to restore the lost spiritual qualities, and reorient the minds of people.

The plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee ended on an optimistic note. Its participants expressed the confidence that the renewal of the forms of collective and state property, turning a peasant into a veritable master of land through leaseholding, cost-accounting, self-management, cooperatives, individual and family contracts, through a well-organized system of storage, processing and marketing of products will finally result in creating the conditions that will enable the country to overcome the shortage of food.

The main thing is to advance persistently, verifying every step by the interests of the people, by the interests of socialism.

## Ligachev, Medvedev Address Journalists on Plenum

*LD1603231189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] [Announcer] On the evening of 16 March a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists took place at the Press Center of the USSR Foreign Ministry on the results of the CPSU Central Committee plenum which has ended.

An account of the results of the plenum was given by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Agrarian Matters; Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Commission; Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Vsevolod Serafimovich Murakhovskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; and Aleksandr Semenovich Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the Ideological Department at the CPSU Central Committee. Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev gave the introductory speech.

[Begin recording] [Medvedev] Over the 2 days, two questions were discussed and decided: The elections of people's deputies from the CPSU were conducted and the matter of the tasks involved in implementing the CPSU'S agrarian policy in today's conditions was discussed. The material on the first matter has been published. The main results of the elections are known: All 100 candidates who were nominated at the previous CPSU Central Committee plenum have been elected. More detailed results of the elections will be published in accordance with the Electoral Law in 5 day's time. The report by Comrade Gorbachev on the second point on the agenda has also been published, and we hope that you have had time to familiarize yourselves with it. A summary of the speech, the concluding remarks by Comrade Gorbachev, and the documents adopted by the plenum will be published in the days to come. I want to give the floor to Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev.

[Ligachev] Comrades, I don't think it would be an exaggeration to say that our society is hoping for great things from this Central Committee plenum. Indeed, agrarian questions and the food problem affect literally all strata of our society and every Soviet person. Comrades, this is understandable because the strain regarding the food situation in the country is not only not decreasing, but in a number of areas it is even getting worse. We realize that this is also having a negative affect on the social climate in a number of regions in the country. The state is being forced to negotiate large procurements of grain, meat, and butter from abroad, and, to put it

bluntly, our agro-industrial complex is considerably behind many countries in both labor productivity and in the quality and diversity of food products.

As Vadim Andreyevich has already said here, Comrade Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyevich, general secretary of the party Central Committee, delivered a report at the party Central Committee plenum on questions of agrarian policy in present-day conditions; 24 people took part in the debates on this question. These were mainly Central Committee members but others such as scientists, kolkhoz chairmen, specialists, and lease-holders who were invited to the party Central Committee plenum also took part. There were 50 such people at the plenum, comrades.

We have every reason, too, to say that the plenum truly determined agrarian policy for the period of restructuring—its objectives, basic directions, and principles. Current agrarian policy is subordinate to the formation of new economic relations in the agrarian sector, new relations between town and countryside, and the creation of self-sufficiency in food in our country. I would like to emphasize particularly that this time the situation is complex. There was a time in the past when we tried, using two or three miraculous measures as it were, to haul agriculure onto the broad path of development. You know how this turned out.

At its plenum the party reaffirmed the socialist path of the development of agriculture and the reorganization of our countryside. It is the profound conviction of the plenum and of all our party that those ills which befell the kolkhozes and sovkhozes were connected with a retreat from socialism and were a distortion of the Leninist principles of socialist cooperation. The Central Committee plenum demonstrated with new force the immense forces of self- renewal and the progress of our society are inherent in socialism itself.

I would like to make the following point: Both Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report and those decisions adopted at the Central Committee plenum—which will be published in the press in the very near future—appraised agrarian policy at various stages of the country's development and the necessary lessons that have been learned on this basis. What do they boil down to? First and foremost, to the fact that radical changes in the countryside, and, primarily, in production relations in the villages, will be carried out on a strictly voluntary basis, without the use of any repressive or coercive methods, as was the case during the period of collectivization. One of the lessons of our agrarian policy over the decades is also the fact that this time we must on no account allow it to be eroded and the price parity between the town and the countryside must be strictly observed. We must also resolutely reject administrative-command methods of management.

The plenum decided that the peasant must be placed at the center of agrarian policy, not in words but in deeds; we must do away with his alienation from the land and other means of production, and strive for a truly authentic combination of individual, group, and public interests.

If one asks where the essence of the CPSU's comtemporary agrarian policy lies, then, speaking briefly, one can give the following very condensed reply: The agrarian policy includes a radical restructuring of economic relations in the countryside, in close connection—and I would like to emphasize this point particularly—with scientific-technical progress, with the social transformation in the countryside, and with resolutely putting an end to the command-and-administer system of management.

This is the nucleus of our party's comtemporary agrarian policy. Or, to put it another way, one can and must—through full financial autonomy, cooperation leasing and contracting, and democracy—establish the peasant as the master of the land and replace command and administrative meddling with economic methods of management.

I would like to draw your attention to the following: The Central Committee plenum advocated most definitely variety in managment forms—in forms of socialist ownership. This means, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, cooperative associations, agricultural combines, agricultural firms, peasant holdings, and subsidiary holdings belonging to citizens and enterprises. The main volume of agricultural output is thus left to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. So, in order to realize more fully the immense potential which, in the Central Committee plenum's opinion is built into the kolkhoz and sovkhoz system, the plenum considers it necessary to develop in every possible way leasing within production and within farms. In our opinion, kolkhozes and sovkhozes may in time become cooperatives of lease and contract collectives. At the same time—and this is indicated in the plenum's decisions—the creation of peasants team holdings is also possible on the basis of lease-contracting. Incidentally, considerable state aid is envisaged to this end. Attention was likewise drawn to the development of personal subsidiary holdings, and, I would say, to their honest integration and honest mutual action with the public sector of production, or to put it another way, with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We consider that it is necessary to remove all the restrictions which exist on personal subsidiary holdings and to give them as much help as possible—in brief to give them room to develop. I want to remind you that today personal subsidiary holdings already produce 23 percent of the overall volume of agricultural output in our country. Another point: It has been decided that the choice of the form of management and administration and the transfer of farms to lease-contracting must be conducted on a purely voluntary basis.

In general I have to say that the principle of voluntariness, given all the forthcoming transformations in the countryside, has been brought out very clearly, vividly, and precisely both in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report and in all the speeches. No force! The management bodies of the agro-industrial complex at the rayon, oblast, and kray level—the soviets or unions, whatever they are called—will be built on the basis of appointment by election and on democratic principles by a small

working apparatus [rabochiy apparat] determined by them. The Gosagroprom in its present form has been abolished. The functions of the managing body of the agro-industrial complex have been radically altered, and they fall into roughly the following categories: the regulation of economic relations between subsections of the agro-industrial complex, the formation of the country's food stocks [fondy], the assimilation of the achievements of science and technology in production, and the development of external economic contacts. That's putting it briefly and in condensed form.

The plenum has specified new principles of planning, pricing, and taxation in the country's agrarian sector. The Central Committee plenum has set the task of technically reequipping the peasant, providing for his social welfare, and involving him actively in relations of financial autonomy and leasing. Incidentally, to do this we intend to weave very serious changes into the structure of investment in the agro-industrial complex, with emphasis on the social sphere, on equipping the peasant with the latest machinery, and on constructing processing enterprises and roads in rural areas. Capital investments will be primarily used for these purposes although I have to say that ultimately it is the local organizations that have this authority, depending on their needs and interests.

It is important—and the plenum emphasized this very forcefully—to create modern conditions for the life and work of the peasant.

You know—and we can confirm this once again—that our peasant is less well equipped technically and often lives in worse conditions than people in many of the developed countries. Yet we know that if the peasant is badly off, the society in which he lives cannot be good either. Moreover, I would like to say that in our country matters are worse concerning the technical facilities for labor and social conditions in rural areas than in the towns. The peasant unfortunately earns less and receives a lower pension than the industrial worker; and the plenum has taken the decision to remove that injustice in the very near future. Let's move on to your questions now.

[AL-ITTIHAD correspondent] The AL-ITTIHAD newspaper of the United Arab Emirates, Al-Hashan. A question for Mr Medvedev. The situation in the USSR has developed in the following way—like a river with two shores. One shore is the period of stagnation, the other is the shore of restructuring. The Soviet people now want to sail to the shore of restructuring but it has been sailing for more than 3 years now and simply cannot get there. What's stopping them?

[Medvedev] A graphic question, but it seems to me that in that question, even in the way it is phrased, lies something which it is impossible to agree with. It is impossible to agree that our country will not reach the shore of restructuring. I would have said, continuing the analogy you used, that not only have we reached the shore of restructuring, but we are walking upon that shore with fairly confident steps.

Is there any need to prove this? I think that the present plenum is a clear demonstration of it. It is demonstrated in the implementation of our political reform. Since the 19th party conference we have undertaken a great many important practical steps in that direction, in democratizing our electoral system. There has never been such an energetic election campaign as that now in process in the history of our country. Can this really not be the result of restructuring? Can it really not be evidence that we are walking on that shore and are standing firm on the soil of restructuring?

Economic reform is also moving ahead albeit not without problems or contradictions. It is gathering speed confidently. Of course, there are problems as well; of course there are contradictions. There are in any movement. I would even say that the faster the movement, the more problems, contradictions, and difficulties are encountered along the way. There is, of course, internal resistence from bodies of opinion here and there, from this or that tendency. There are also attempts, headlong advances without a backward glance, to solve certain problems at one fell swoop. We've got all this but this in itself is a testimony to the fact that we're moving forward. That's how I'd answer your graphic question.

[Hungarian Television journalist] A question from Hungarian Television for Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev. In your introduction, you spoke of the variety of forms of ownership in the countryside and mentioned peasant holdings [krestyanskiye khozyaystva]. My question is: Does putting the matter like this envisage peasant families holding land privately? What I mean is, can you imagine a situation in which say an area of land belonging to a kolkhoz that has long been operating at a loss is distributed to the peasants, as is being proposed in the Baltic? Or do you believe that this is impossible for various reasons? If so, could you describe these reasons?

[Ligachev] Thank you for your question, which is an interesting one and one that was discussed in detail at the plenum of the party Central Committee. Putting it briefly, I would say the following: I repeat that the party Central Committee plenum is in favor of a variety of forms of economic management and socialist ownership. I was in your country twice last year and observed a certain variety of forms as well. At the same time—and you know this from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorabchev's report—it was said clearly and precisely that any sort of proposals to the effect that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes should be given up are quite simply, both in theory and in practice, without foundation.. It was also said at the plenum, firmly and clearly, that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes need to be developed comprehensively—opening up their vast creative potential, through for instance, cooperatives, contracting, leasing, and democratization.

At the same time, I would like to repeat once more that the possibility is also envisaged of establishing individual peasant holdings as we've called them. To make it clear, they are often called farmers' holdings [fermerskiye khozyaystva]. Moreover, I'd like to tell you that the party Central Committee plenum also reacted approvingly to the Supreme Soviet's draft decree on leaseholding in the Soviet Union, the development of leaseholder relations in the Soviet Union in all areas of the economy, in particular in the countryside. These documents are to be published. In addition, the state will provide a certain degree of aid to those farms where it is expedient and necessary—and I say again, on a purely voluntary basis. However, at the same time, under these decrees on the development of leaseholding relations in the Soviet Union, the land was, is, and will remain the property of the state. In general, too, everything that is handed over to the farmer, i.e. the land and the means of ownership, will remain the property of the state, or rather the lessor. All that the farmer creates, by way of, in the process of, and by exploiting these means of production—to put it figuratively, property-transformed, value-transformed—will remain the property of the leaseholder. As you can see, the property of the leaseholder will be bound up in the closest of ways with the state form of ownership.

Finally then, the last thing. Yes, the decisions of the plenum and the resolutions adopted by the Central Committee and Council of Ministers do stipulate that in individual instances the transformation of lossmaking units and of kolkhozes and sovkhozes is possible. In what way? It is possible that these units could be handed over to strong kolkhozes and sovkhozes in some instances. In others, to industrial enterprises. In the third instance, economic contracts could simply be concluded between an industrial enterprise and the kolkhoz and sovkhoz that would enable them to grow stronger and to work viably. But the case is also allowed for liquidating that unit and distributing it among collectives or individual citizens. [end recording]

[Announcer] Answers to other questions were also given.

## Yeltsin Speeches 'Counter to' Party Ethics

*LD1603225389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Today at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum a discussion began on the report by Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled 'The CPSU's Agrarian Policy in Present Conditions.'

Speaking in the debate were: Potapov, first secretary of the Irkutsk Obkom of the CPSU; Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; Motornyy, chairman of the Kirov kolkhoz in the Ukrainian SSR; Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow Obkom of the CPSU; Lukinov, of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and director of the Scientific Research Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; Litvintsev, first secretary of the Tula Obkom of the CPSU; Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; Chazov, USSR health minister; Malkov, first secretary of the Chita OBKOM of the CPSU; Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee; Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Boldyrev, first secretary of the Stavropol Kraykom of the CPSU; Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee; Gellert, mechanizer of the Imeni Amangeldy Sovkhoz in the Kazakh SSR; Ananyev, editor-in-chief of the OKTYABR magazine; Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Popov, first secretary of the Altay Kraykom of the CPSU; Grintsov, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Pereverzeva, machine operator and foreman-mentor of the Put Lenina kolkhoz in Rostov Oblast; Olshanskiy, USSR minister of mineral fertilizer production; Kukhar, chairman of the Union Council of kolkhozes and chairman of the Vladimir Ilyich kolkhoz in Moscow Oblast; and Nikonov, president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke in conclusion.

The plenum adopted a detailed decision on the matter discussed, which will be published in the press.

At the plenum members of the CPSU Central Committee and other comrades submitted a proposal that some speeches by Yeltsin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, should be discussed and assessed. They are: Tikhomirov, Turner, drill operator of the Vladimir Ilyich electromechanical works in Moscow; Petrov, Turner of Zavod imeni malysheva production association in Kharkov; Zatvornitskiy, team leader of a multiskilled team of the mosstroy Planning and Building Association; Chicherov, team leader of turners and assemblers of the turbine manufacturing Association of the Leningrad metal works; Pletneva, weaver of the Lenin flax combine in Kostroma; Parshin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, team leader, and vegetable grower of the Detskoselskiy Sovkhoz in Leningrad Oblast; Odobescu, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and cutter of the Zorile production footwear association in Kishinev. In their view the speeches run counter to the political aims of the Central Committee, party ethics, and the rules [ustavnyye normy] of the CPSU.

The plenum found it necessary to entrust a commission made up of members of the CPSU Central Committee with studying this matter closely and reporting their findings to the next CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

At this point the CPSU Central Committee plenum ended its work.

### Medvedev on Complaints About Yeltsin

*LD1603213689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2025 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (TASS)—The elections of USSR peoples' deputies from the CPSU went off very amicably. Those participating in the voting elected by an overwhelming majority all the candidates who were proposed at the preceding plenum of the party Central Committee, said Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, speaking today at a press conference on the plenum results.

Replying to a question he reported that during the work of the plenum Vladimir Tikhomirov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and a Moscow worker, expressed several criticisms with regard to the course of the election campaign in the country. He was concerned, in particular, that in a number of cases demagogic anti-social manifestations took place which did not always meet with the necessary counteraction. Here, Vladimir Tikhomirov cited the meeting which took place on 12 March on one of the squares in central Moscow with the participation of members of the so-called Democratic Union and certain other informal organizations. Unacceptable slogans had been submitted at that meeting.

Vladimir Tikhomirov, Vadim Medvedev continued, also expressed a number of criticisms about Boris Yeltsin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, in particular with regard to his position on the question of the role of the party and the Komsomol in the country, the idea of making the party subordinate to the soviets, the creation of a new youth organization as a counterbalance to the Komsomol, and several other matters.

Boris Yeltsin denied that he had been calling for a multiparty system in our country. In his words, it was only a matter of starting up a discussion of this question in the mass media, Vadim Medvedev said.

He went on to report that the plenum presidium had received several notes which raised the question that in some of his speeches Boris Yeltsin expressed views which deviate from the party line. The writers of the notes proposed that this question be examined. The plenum of the Party Central Committee deemed it necessary to instruct a commission composed of Central Committee members to study this question and report its conclusions to a routine plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Vadim Medvedev noted.

### Yeltsin To 'Fight On to the End'

*AU1703120289 Paris AFP in English 1135 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Anne Penketh report]

[Text] Moscow, March 17 (AFP)—Ousted Kremlin maverick Boris Yeltsin was Friday at the centre of the most serious row of his political career, orchestrated by his conservative opponents, less than two weeks before he competes in elections to a revamped parliament.

Politburo ideology spokesman Vadim Medvedev told a news conference here Thursday, at the end of a two-day Central Committee plenum on agricultural reform, that a commission had been set up to examine Mr. Yeltsin's party loyalty and instructed to report back.

Fifty-eight year-old Mr. Yeltsin, accused of making statements during the electoral campaign "contradictory to the guidelines of the Central Committee and party rules and ethics", in the words of Friday's Communist Party daily PRAVDA, faces expulsion from the policy-making body and then from the party.

The expulsion would complete Mr. Yeltsin's disgrace, since he began his downfall from the heights of the top leadership after criticising Politburo conservative Yegor Ligachev at a Central Committee plenum in October 1987.

Mr. Yeltsin, attacked for his "political immaturity", "stabbing the party in the back", and a host of other failings, was brutally dismissed from his post as Moscow party chief less than one month later, and subsequently lost his seat in the Politburo as a non-voting member.

But the populist official, who now holds the rank of minister through his job as first deputy chairman of the State Construction Committee, has continued to enjoy widespread public support since his sacking.

He is campaigning for a Moscow seat in the March 26 elections after being dropped from the party's elite list of 100 Communists elected to reserved seats.

In a television debate on Sunday he was forced to defend his platform calling for abolition of party privilege and faced personal criticism for his personal ambition, which he said he "tried to control".

As what now appears as a "dump Yeltsin" campaign gathered momentum, party authorities this week published the minutes of the October 1987 plenum.

On Wednesday, a Moscow electrical engineering worker, Vladimir Tikhomirov, took the floor at the plenum to challenge Mr. Yeltsin's party loyalty. The Central Committee decided to set up a commission after written messages levelled similar charges, criticizing his statements about the party role during the election campaign.

One of the written attacks was from Moscow construction official Vladimir Zatvornitskiy, an ally of Mr. Ligachev.

According to the minutes of the October 1987 plenum, Mr. Zatvornitskiy accused Mr. Yeltsin of over-riding ambition: "You evidently want to get into the Politburo. That's my personal opinion," he said, adding, "I regret that you acted badly today."

A member of Mr. Yeltsin's secretariat told AFP Friday that he would "fight on to the end" and not withdraw his candidacy from the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies, in which he is competing against the head of the Zil luxury car plant.

Some analysts said Friday that the party's attack on its black sheep could be counterproductive, and produce a sweeping electoral victory for Mr. Yeltsin. But others quoted Stalin's reported verdict on Soviet elections: "It's not how you vote, but how they are counted that matters."

## Reportage on 'Final Phase' of Deputies Campaign

### Commission Chairman on Candidates

*PM1603121089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*16 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 4*

[TASS report: "Deputies' Seats for the Party: Elections of USSR People's Deputies From the CPSU"]

[Text] Elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU took place at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 15 March.

Before the elections began, a report was delivered by V.A. Koptyug, chairman of the CPSU Electoral Commission.

In accordance with the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies and the decisions adopted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 10 January 1989, he said, USSR people's deputies from the CPSU are to be elected. Two months have passed since the nomination and registration of candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU. The entire election campaign was based on the clear, realistic political platform set forth in the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People on the election. This document showed once again that the party is in practice the vanguard, the leading force of society. It intends to firmly follow the path of restructuring, seeking the renewal of our socialist society through its all-around democratization, through radical economic reform, the revival of the soviets' power, and the formation of a rule-of-law state.

The program of action contained in the appeal formed the basis of the program of every candidate people's deputy from the CPSU. And many elements of our general program were further developed from the viewpoint of ways of putting them into practice on the basis of the candidates' own experience and discussions that took place during their meetings with Communists and the public.

It should be noted, the speaker stressed, that the election campaign that has now ended was marked by new approaches at every stage. More than 105,000 party organizations took part in the formulation of proposals on candidacies at the stage preceding nomination. Some 31,500 candidacies were submitted by them for examination by higher party committees. More than 12,000 telegrams, letters, and extracts from the meetings' decisions were sent directly to the CPSU Central Committee. The Central Committee January plenum, as you know, nominated 100 candidates out of the 312 candidacies proposed for discussion. This decision was adopted unanimously.

You know that every candidacy was voted on individually at the plenum. There was only one abstention, on Comrade Ligachev's candidacy. All the others were nominated unanimously.

The electoral commission, after examining the protocol of the CPSU Central Committee 10 January 1989 Plenum on the nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies, as well as the statements of consent to run from the CPSU, found that the nomination of all the candidate USSR people's deputies was in accordance with the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

The commission registered all the candidate USSR people's deputies nominated by the plenum, and published a list of candidates in the central and local party press within the time specified by the Law on Elections.

In general the composition of the candidates reflects the nature of the party's composition as a party of the whole people, and its representation of the interests of all strata of society, first and foremost the working class. It is workers, in social terms, who account for the largest number of CPSU candidates. There are 26 of them. There are 7 kolkhoz members among the candidates, and workers in industry, construction, and agriculture, that is, spheres of material production, together make up nearly half of all the candidates—47. The candidates include 22 workers in culture, science, education, and health care.

The next biggest group consists of party workers—21. The candidate USSR people's deputies include 12 members and candidate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

A number of secretaries of party committees of enterprises, kolkhozes, and rayons also received the support of Communists locally and at the Central Committee plenum.

The composition of the candidates, the speaker stressed, reflects comparatively fully the mulitnational nature of our party. Those registered include representatives of all the union republics and 23 nationalities. Seventy-one of the candidates have higher education, and twenty-four an academic degree. Nearly all of them have much experience of party, soviet, and other public work. Of the 100 candidates, 39 are members of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission, 31 are members of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, 19 are

members of party gorkoms and raykoms and the corresponding auditing commissions, and 8 are secretaries of primary and shop party organizations. One-third of the candidates are currently USSR Supreme Soviet deputies.

In January-March of this year, in accordance with the Law on Elections, meetings took place in party organizations and labor collectives between the candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU and Communists, working people, the party and propaganda aktiv, and the public. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, taking into account the importance of this campaign, adopted a special resolution instructing union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms to organize these meetings and give appropriate assistance to party organizations. Attention was drawn to the fact that the meetings should be informal in nature and ensure wide discussion of pressing questions of the implementation of party policy in the light of the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People.

All this helped to ensure that the candidate deputies' meetings with Communists and working people were active and extensive in nature. Candidate deputies Z.S. Valeyeva, team leader of a construction organization in Ufa City; V.I. Gromov, turning lathe operator at the Verkhnesaldinskiy V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Production Association; V.Yu. Levitskas, general drector of the Kaunas Furs Production Association; V.G. Filippova, deputy chairman of the board of the "Aley" Kolkhoz in Altay Kray; and many other candidates held 10-15 meetings each in party collectives.

Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, A.N. Yakovlev, A.I. Lukyanov, G.P. Razumovskiy, and O.D. Baklanov met with labor collectives and aktivs of republican, kray, and oblast party organizations in various regions of the country. The meetings were given wide coverage in the press.

In all there were 845 meetings with candidate deputies in party organizations and labor collectives. Some 155,000 people took part, and more than 4,500 spoke.

In general these meetings were characterized by an atmosphere of openness, goodwill, and the committed, constructive exchange of opinions. The discussion concerned both major questions of party and state policy and local problems and affairs.

Speaking at the meetings, Communists and working people expressed support for the candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU. The candidate deputies from the party were described at the meetings as competent, energetic people who think in an up-to-date way and are capable of implementing restructuring successfully. The majority of candidate deputies spoke on local and central radio and television, and articles by them and interviews with them were published in the press.

In the course of the meetings many proposals were put forward on ways of overcoming the difficulties of the current stage of restructuring. What still has to be done, what has to be worked out, studied theoretically, and put into practice in order to continue along the path mapped out by the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference? That is the main content of these proposals.

At virtually all the meetings mention was made of the need to steadily increase the CPSU's prestige as political vanguard of the Soviet people and too persistently pursue the party's line in the country's highest organ of legislative power. The Communists drew the attention of candidate people's deputies to the need to implement consistently the principles of the 19th all-union party conference on the demarcation of the functions of party and state organs and the restoration of full power to the soviets, from top to bottom. They asked for the drafting and adoption of the laws spoken of at the conference and subsequent Central Committee plenums to be accelerated.

Ideas were put forward on questions of further improving the electoral system in the light of the experience gained in the present election campaign. Problems of ethnic relations held a central place at the meetings. The wish was expressed that future deputies will act from state standpoints to harmonize these relations, define more clearly the status of union and autonomous republics, and seek a revival of the Leninist concept of language policy in the country. The importance of accelerating the processes of normalizing the situation in individual union republics and the need to more resolutely oppose the activity of extremist nationalist elements were noted.

As was to be expected, a large number of proposals were related to questions of economic and sociocultural building. Their main content amounts to deepening the economic reform and going over more boldly to the introduction of full economic accountability, the development of lease and cooperative forms of labor and real autonomy for enterprises in resolving social questions, and the implementation of regional economic accountability in the country.

Much attention was devoted to the accelerated development of the country's machine building and the speediest introduction of scientific achievements into production.

It was proposed that the future deputies formulate and implement a program for reducing the budget deficit and adopt measures to reduce spending on maintaining the management apparatus. All instructions of this kind are permeated by the working people's natural desire for the

economy to improve more rapidly and for every family and every individual to feel the real effects of this in their life. Many proposals concern the problem of developing the country's agro-industrial complex. For the most part they directly concern what is to be discussed at the present Central Committee plenum as the second item on the agenda. It should only be noted that Communists see the future CPSU deputies as a force that should play an active part in restructuring economic relations in the countryside, reviving the peasant's sense of being owner of the land, and providing facilities and machinery for rural labor.

A considerable number of proposals concern ecological problems. In particular, the need to accelerate the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive ecological program for the country was discussed. A number of major issues raised at meetings relate to the further deepening of the party's social policy. Virtually no aspect of life escaped the attention of the Communists and working people. They also discussed improvements to women's working conditions, provisions for mothers of large families, assistance to poorly-off families, medical services, leave for workers, pension provision, and much more.

All the proposals that can be regarded as instructions to people's deputies from the Communist Party have been summarized and submitted to the participants in the Central Committee plenum, and also to the candidate USSR people's deputies who are present here. This relieves me of the need to dwell on this topic in any more detail.

It should be noted that in the course of the meetings, since they were meetings with candidate people's deputies from the CPSU, various aspects of the party's activity were naturally touched on. There were a good many criticisms of party committees in connection with the fact that they do not always act in the spirit of democratization and restructuring. It was also noted that certain primary party organizations are still living in the old way, and exactingness toward Communists, especially leaders who are Communists, remains weak. In this connection concrete proposals were put to the CPSU Central Committee and the future deputies, and these merit the keenest attention. They are in line with the problems being discussed at sessions of the CPSU Central Committee commissions, and therefore we have passed them on to those commissions.

Reporting on the main results of the meetings between the candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU and the party organizations and labor collectives, the speaker dwelt on requests and criticisms reflecting the full diversity of local life—questions that people come up against every day—and cited some examples. Thus candidate people's deputy N.V. Borodin was informed of the desire to achieve unconditional fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the comprehensive development of production forces in the Fear East economic region, the Buryat Autonomous Republic, and Chita Oblast through the year 2000. And M.L. Mkrtchyan was asked to help step up monitoring of the fulfillment of decisions adopted in connection with the earthquake in Armenia. Questions of providing high-quality agricultural equipment, laying down firm procurement plans and purchase prices for raw cotton, and developing the processing base were discussed at meetings with candidate deputies Z.S. Gulova, T.B. Kirgizbayeva, V.P. Nikonov, I.S. Seleznev, and N.N. Slyunkov. In various regions there was concern at the slow rate of construction of housing, schools, and medical institutions. Requests to promote the concentration of efforts and resources first and foremost on the construction of sociocultural facilities were put to Z.S. Valeyeva from the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, to N.M. Smyk in Krasnoyarsk Kray, to A.S. Shukshin in Khabarovsk Kray, to V.G. Filippova in Altay Kray, to V.A. Ostroukhov in Tomsk Oblast, to V.N. Averkin in Novgorod Oblast, to A.I. Lukyanov in Smolensk Oblast, to S.Z. Umalatova in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic, to Z. Beyshekeyeva in the Kirghiz Republic, to M.S. Mendybayev in the Kazakh SSR, and to a number of other candidate deputies.

Practically everyone was instructed, in the event of his election as a deputy, to promote the resolution of local questions. These instructions and requests, although they are local in nature, should not fail to receive attention and the appropriate response.

The speaker reported that the electoral commission systematically analyzed the course of the election campaign, adopted the necessary decisions on procedural questions promptly, and had a permanently operating reception center, where commission members organized tours of duty. Since the CPSU Central Committee January (1989) Plenum the electoral commission has received more than 300 letters and telegrams concerning elections of people's deputies. The main feature of the mail in the present election campaign is the significant change in the nature of requests compared with past elections. Whereas formerly the CPSU Central Committee received, as a rule, letters containing personal requests, now they mainly have a sociopolitical thrust. People have realized that they can and should participate in the formulation of ways of resolving our common problems.

The letters show a sincere commitment to profound, qualitative transformations of the political system and all aspects of public life, and put forward requests and instructions that are taken into account in the materials submitted to plenum participants. I would like to dwell particularly on letters directly concerning nominated and registered candidate deputies, since the electoral commission, in accordance with the provision on the elections, has a duty to report on them to the plenum.

In all, more than 100 such letters and telegrams were received containing proposals and criticisms. In general the Communists' letters express confidence that the

candidate people's deputies nominated at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum will, in the event of their election, undoubtedly be an active force in the highest organ of soviet power. The letters and extracts from the protocols of meetings express personal support for the majority of candidates. There also are a good many observations of a critical nature. Despite the fact that a significant proportion of them are subjective in nature, the electoral commission deems it necessary to bring them to the notice of the plenum participants. We are confident that the candidates will understand. Thus, some letters proposed that all candidates who are aged 60 or over be excluded from the list. One letter expressed the opinion that the list contains too few workers and too many representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia, who, in the author's opinion, should be excluded from the list. It was also noted that representatives of certain regions are absent from the list of candidates.

A brief word about letters containing criticisms that are specific and personal rather than general. Three letters contain criticisms of M.S. Gorbachev's candidacy, particularly along the lines that he bears responsibility for the existing situation in the country, since he was a member of the party leadership in the years prior to restructuring. Criticisms of L.N. Zaykov are contained in nine letters. They mainly concern social conditions in Moscow. There are 25 letters expressing disagreement with certain propositions in Ye.K. Ligachev's speech at the 19th all-union party conference. The authors of two letters express disagreement with A.N. Yakovlev's speeches on certain questions of progress along the path of democratization and the role of market relations. Dissatisfaction is expressed with certain propositions put forward by N.N. Slyunkov on economic questions during his recent visit to the Lithuanian SSR. In some letters, the authors come out against the election of V.P. Nikonov as a deputy, without setting forth their reasons. There are criticisms of V.A. Medvedev over various aspects of the ideological situation in the country. One letter expresses dissatisfaction with individual legislative acts adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and in connection with this voices complaints against G.P. Razumovskiy as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Leigslative Proposals Commission.

In most cases the letters touch on the state of affairs in the partiuclar sector of work in which a given candidate is involved. Thus there are a number of criticisms of PRAVDA chief editor V.G. Afanasyev because, in the opinion of the authors of the letters, the newspaper is insufficiently active on the major questions of restructuring. A number of letters note that individual candidates who were elected USSR Supreme Soviet deputies in the past and are or were formerly in leadership posts failed to show due principles in the struggle against stagnation phenomena, or are insufficiently active in formulating and upholding positive programs in accordance with the tasks of restructuring. Opinions of this nature were expressed in relation to V.N. Golubeva, M.I. Klepikov, G.I. Marchuk, M.S. Mendybayev, and Ye.M. Primakov. Three letters concerning A.D. Lizichev express the desire for the restructuring processes taking place in the party and society to touch more actively on the Soviet Army and Navy party organizations. Mention is made of the need to strengthen educational work in the Armed Forces.

Some letters contain critical opinions of the theoretical views of Academician L.I. Abalkin on the development of economic relations under socialism. The need to speed up the formulation of scientifically substantiated principles of the development of the country's economy was noted.

Ye.P. Velikhov is accused of underestimating questions of safety and the environmental effects of the construction and operation of nuclear power stations. At a meeting with working people, the desire was expressed for glasnost to be promoted in every way when decisions are taken in the sphere of nuclear power.

Some comrades, in their letters, express disagreement with the positions expressed on certain issues in the works and speeches of Ch. Aytmatov and V.I. Belov. There are criticisms of B.I. Oleynik and M.A. Ulyanov.

A number of letters object to particular candidacies on the grounds of failure, in the authors' view, to examine their requests and personal complaints objectively. There are criticisms of this kind against N.N. Vorobyev and A.Ya. Ishin. Representatives of the Kiev Industrial Paper Factory came out against V.I. Tatarchuk's candidacy on the grounds that the combine he heads does not supply the factory with sufficient special paper. One letter contains objections to G.G. Shtoyk's candidacy in connection with the insufficient attention paid to questions of environmental conservation at the combine he leads.

The candidate people's deputies from the CPSU have been informed of the criticisms against them. The electoral commission considers it its duty also to inform the plenum about a group of letters to the commission in which Communists express their disagreement with the fact that 100 candidates were nominated from the CPSU for 100 deputies' seats. They believe that the exclusion of the element of competition from the elections is extremely undesirable, and propose that this be taken into account in future.

In conclusion, the speaker reported that the electoral commission, in accordance with the right granted to it under Article 36 of the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, made amendments to the list of voters approved by the preceding CPSU Central Committee Plenum. As you know, the 10 January 1989 plenum resolved to conduct the vote in the elections of

USSR people's deputies with the participation of candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and also first secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, second secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees, chairmen of union republic supreme soviet presidiums and councils of ministers, ministers and leaders of central departments and organizations, and commanders of military districts who do not belong to central CPSU organs.

However, Article 51 of the Law on Elections states that enlarged plenums of social organizations may be held with the participation of representatives of other elected organs of these organizations. Having examined the preliminary list of voters at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the electoral commission found that 35 participants in the plenum (a number of ministers, leaders of certain departments and organizations, USSR deputy defense ministers, and commanders of military districts, groups of forces, and fleets) may not take part in the vote, since they are not members of elected party organs. The corresponding amendments to the list of voters were made within the time stipulated by the Law on Elections.

The chairman of the electoral commission invited the plenum participants to participate in the vote. After the vote, the results were announced—all 100 candidates were elected USSR people's deputies.

The plenum adopted a resolution on instructions to USSR people's deputies from the CPSU, summarizing the proposals put forward at election meetings.

### Komsomol Plenum To Elect Deputies

*LD1703093689 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—The Central Committee of the Soviet Young Communist League opened a plenum here on Friday to fill 75 seats on the state legislature that have been allotted to this 36-million-strong youth organisation, the largest in the country, by the new election law.

The two-day plenum is to elect the MP's from 102 candidates.

### 'Defense Society' Selects Candidates

*LD1603131289 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

Representatives of the Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Navy, one of the most broadly-based mass organisations in the Soviet Union, will be serving on the state legislature for the first time. The 15 people to fill as many parliamentary seats allotted to the organisation, which is often called the Defense Society, under new legislation were elected from among 17 candidates at its Central Committee's plenum on Thursday

The would-be MP's include Cosmonaut Petr Klimuk, Deputy Defense Minister Lieutenant-Colonel Nikolay Chekov, former member of the Soviet internationalist contingent in Afghanistan Nikolay Shamin, legendary World War II pilot Ivan Kozhedub who flew 330 combat sorties, General of the Army Petr Lushev who is commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries, World and European all-around aerobatics champion Lyubov Nemkova, Mikhail Simonov, chief of a design office of the Soviet Aircraft Building Ministry, and others.

The prime mission of the more than 100-million-strong Defense Society is to help improve the combat preparedness of the armed forces.

Its election platform says: "The significance of practical activities by this organisation to prepare young people for military service has grown in connection with the decision to unilaterlly cut the Soviet Armed Forces, their provision with ever more sophisticated weapons and combat equipment, and the increasing complexity of the martial craft.

"All this increases demands on the troops' professionalism and hence of the training standards of draftees and technical specialists for the national economy, as well as on efforts to promote independent technical creativity by young people."

### Architects Elect 'Active' Deputies

*PM1603150389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "With Colleagues' Mandate"]

[Text] Moscow—On 14 March at an enlarged plenum of the USSR Union of Architects the names of those elected USSR people's deputies from this public organization were announced. Of the 18 candidates 10 of the most creatively and civically active town planners, who are well known for their bold public stance, collected the necessary number of votes. The following were among them: Yu.P. Platonov, first secretary of the USSR Union of Architects Board; L.V. Vavakin, Moscow's chief architect; a number of republic union board chairmen, and innovative architects.

The USSR people's deputies elected from among Soviet architects regarded the mandates from their colleagues as the most responsible social imperative—to be for the first time the direct creators of society's new democratic structure.

### Theater Workers Elect Deputies

*PM1603145989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 First Edition p 1*

[M. Karpov report: "Full House. Theater Public Announces Its Choices"]

[Excerpts] There were no shows Sunday at Moscow's Moscow City Soviet Theater. Nonetheless there was a full house. Participants in the enlarged plenum of the USSR Theater Workers Union had gathered there to elect their creative union's USSR people's deputies.

There were 12 candidates for the 10 seats. Or rather, the union's January plenum had examined 61 candidacies—the number put forward by the republic unions. Fifteen people were registered as candidate USSR people's deputies. But during the subsequent election campaign Mikhail Ulyanov and Chingiz Aytmatov agreed to run on behalf of the CPSU, while Raymond Pauls agreed to run as candidate for a national-territorial okrug. [passage omitted]

The actual voting took the traditional form. It was secret, as prescribed by law, and all the arrangements had been made. The work of the vote-counting commission took place in full view of everyone, openly, and publicly. Anyone who so wished could watch the process. The commission chairman read out the names ticked off on the ballot papers, and they were noted down not only by the commission members but by those plenum participants who wanted to know the election results before anyone else.

None of the 248 ballot papers was spoiled. Kh. Abramyan, R. Adomaytis, V. Apostol, O. Yefremov, M. Zakharov, B. Kariyeva, K. Lavrov, A. Mambetov, B. Pokrovskiy, and T. Chkheidze obtained the most votes.

After the results were announced all the newly elected deputies were invited up onto the stage to hear the mandate of the USSR Theater Workers Union.

### Kolkhoz Council Elects 'All 58'

*PM1603141189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Mar 89 First Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Deputies Being Elected"]

[Text] Moscow—At a Union Kolkhoz Council Plenum on 13 March deputies were elected by a secret ballot to the supreme organ of state power from an army of almost 20 million kolkhoz workers.

All 58 candidates became USSR people's deputies.

### Peace Fund Fails To Elect Deputies

*PM1603154789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Voting Postponed Again"]

[Text] Delegates to a joint plenum involving the leaders of the Soviet Peace Fund's elective organs and eight Soviet public committees in favor of peace, solidarity, and international cooperation have failed to achieve a result. Candidates were nominated from these public organizations yesterday for the remaining two mandates for USSR people's deputy.

Serious disagreements among the participants made themselves known even before the start of the conference. Some proposed compiling a list of candidates. Others insisted that previous contenders for the mandates could also be included among the candidates according to information from the representatives of the Central Electoral Commission. Finally, when the last of the 197 people present had been registered, the presidium took up its positions late. There was a proposal to ratify five former contenders and one new one—V.F. Stanis, rector of the Patrice Lumumba University of Peoples' Friendship.

At the start of the voting it became obvious how the opinions of the plenum's participants differed. The contenders collected received 30 and 116 votes and dozens of delegates remained neutral, while some took no part in the voting at all. The result was that no candidate received the requisite number of votes for nomination. It was decided to hold a joint plenum to nominate candidacies for the remaining two mandates 31 March.

### Candidates Protest Debate Suppression

*PM1603154589 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10 (Signed to Press 5 Mar 89) p 14*

[Article by candidate people's deputies Academician Vladimir Tikhonov of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; Aleksey Yablokov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Academcian Aleksandr Yanshin: "Ban on Criticism. One Incident in the Lives of Candidates for Election to People's Deputies in the Epoch of Glasnost"]

[Text] Taking into account the great public interest in the activity of the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water conservation of the USSR, Central Television's propaganda department decided to prepare for the Your Opinion series the programme "Land improvement: yesterday, today... and tomorrow?". It was supposed to be a discussion programme with the participation of representatives of the Ministry and the State Agro-Industiral Committee of the USSR, responsible for the present state of affairs in land improvement, as well as of representatives of the scientific public opposing the situation that has taken shape in this sphere.

A few days before the programme was recorded, Polad Polad-Zade, first deputy minister of land improvement and water conservation, said that he and other participants in the meeting who he'd planned to invite to support the ministry, refuse to participate in the programme. It went ahead without them. We had the problem of land improvement in the USSR on our election programme and expressed our opinion on it, along with Boris Vinogradov, one of the country's leading specialists in space geography, and Professor Oleg Kolbasov, a prominent Soviet lawyer specializing in land use, by including it in our pre-election programme.

The television programme was to go on the air on Channel 1 March 2, 1989. Then events took a turn more typical of 4-5 years ago. On February 25, there was a preview of the prepared programme at the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, attended by spokesmen for the committee, the land improvement and water conservation ministries of the USSR and the Russian Federation. The meeting was presided over by Gennadiy Romanenko, first vice-chairman of the USSR Agro-Industrial Committee, but none of the participants in the programme was invited to this discussion!

According to Lyudmila Yashina, senior editor in the propaganda department of Central Television and organizer of the programme, who was present at the discussion, participants in the meeting were called liars, accused of adventurism and other "crimes", including political ones. As a result, the programme didn't go on the air.

We regard this incident as a direct violation of Article 44 of the Law on Elections to People's Deputies of the USSR, which establishes the right of candidates to present their programme on TV. Through MOSCOW NEWS: we are appealing to the USSR Procurator's Office to call to account those guilty of upsetting the programme, according to the procedure established by Article 13 of the USSR Law on Elections.

## TASS on Vote Counting

*LD1603231189 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

The election campaign in the USSR is entering its final phase. One thousand and five hundred people's deputies of the USSR or two thirds of the entire pool of the new Soviet parliament's deputies will be elected in regional constituencies on March 26. A total of 2,895 candidates contend for the high title. Public organisations, which will be represented in the country's supreme body of state authority, will cast ballots for their candidates on March 23, three days earlier.

Almost 180,000 divisional election committees, which have been formed in this country, will have hectic time now as they are to make sure that elections in their divisions are held in full compliance with the law.

The committees' responsibilities are diverse. Long before the election day they set about compiling lists of electors, which were now submitted for general familiarization. All citizens of the USSR who have reached 18 by the election day are eligible to vote and live permanently or temporarily on the territory of the electoral division were put on these lists.

"Our overriding task on the polling day will be scrupulously to observe all provisions of the law, since respect for it begins exactly from this," stressed Aleksandr Bystrov, chairman of one of the 3,393 divisional committeess formed in Moscow. "It is necessary, above all, that conditions for secret balloting be assured. Ballot boxes will be placed in such a way that electors will pass through polling booths where they will choose their candidate and only after that will cast their ballot."

The divisional committee also intends to keep watch over the fulfillment of another provision of the law, which commits each voter to make his or her choice personally. The unfortunate practice of last years when one could cast his ballots and those of his family will be abolished this time. If need be, the fervor of most adamant supporters of this or another candidate would have to be cooled: Agitation on the polling day is banned by the law.

Bystrov points out that the vote counting procedure will be by far more complex since the elections will be multi-candidate and not single-candidate as in the past. Mistakes should be totally excluded since even the slightest deviation from the letter of the law can have most unpleasant consequences to the point of qualifying elections as invalid. The head of the divisional committee assured that monitoring here will be most stringent: Candidates' confidential agents, representatives of voters' meetings, work collectives, public organisations and also journalists have the right to be present during the vote counting procedure.

"We are prepared for this," Bystrov says. "We hope that the returns of elections in our electoral division will become known in approximately two to three hours after the end of the polling."

## Experts Complete Analysis of Chernobyl Situation

*LD1703141489 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] Kiev March 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya:

A commission made up of experts of various professions has completed analysis of the situation in the 30-km zone around the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, scene of

an accident in April 1986. The main task of the commission was to determine the volume of the materials buried after the accident. The action was carried out as part of efforts to decontaminate the zone.

Vladimir Starodumov, director of the Komplex Enterprise specialising in registering and insulating radiation sources, told TASS that the ordinary burial of radioactive waste involves its being put into standard metal containers and covered with a concrete layer. However, in his opinion, this is only a temporary way out: large amounts of highly radioactive waste cannot be kept like that for a long time. This is why Komplex plans to put the first stage of a radioactive waste-processing plant into operation no later than in 1991.

"No one in the world has experience of dealing with such amounts of radioactive waste of this type. This is why many foreign firms showed interest in our experience. Cooperation proposals came from the U.S., Italy, Japan and other countries", Starodumov said.

### Further on Russian Demonstrations in Tallinn

*LD1603132789*

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1700 GMT on 14 March broadcasts a 12-minute report on the 14 March mass meetings organized by the Internationalist Movement of Working People, Intermovement, and the Joint Council of Work Collectives of the Estonian SSR, JCWC.

Aldur Paaro reports from the rally in Kohtla-Jarve. He estimates that some 6,000-7,000 people attended the 90-minute rally, where recordings of emotional speeches in Russian are played, including one by a veteran, who blames the mass media for the situation. Another speaker refers to People's Front leaders Edgar Savissar and Marju Lauristin as the father and mother of the Estonian people, commenting that they merely want a return to bourgeois Estonia, where there were slave markets; the crowd responds with shouts and applause. A third speaker asks what the Estonians want, when factories and houses have been built and there are goods in abundance in the stores. "Therefore," she says, "Comrades, there is no need to feel offended by us; when you call for help, Soviet Russia will come to your aid." A resolution was adopted at the end of the rally.

Raul Malk reports from the Tallinn rally near Linnahal. Some 40,000 workers carrying red flags had marched in columns through the city straight from work, he estimates. However, the numbers started to diminish near the end of the JCWC rally, Malk notes. Oleg Morozov, a well-known Intermovement activist, called for a warning strike on 28 March and for a full strike on 10 April, Malk reports.

Malk notes that several demands are made at the rally, including that an extraordinary Communist Party of Estonia conference by convened before 10 April, with delegates to be elected directly by primary organizations. "This is a clear expression of mistrust in the gorkom and raykom," Malk remarks. The participants also demand that Mikhail Gorbachev attend and that the Estonian Party leadership be replaced at the conference. While the resolution adopted at the meeting does not include the word "strike," there are ambiguous threats about what will happen if these demands are not met, Malk says.

One of the complaints raised at the meeting was that the interests of the Russian-speaking population were not considered in law-making. "This was stressed particularly clearly in an appeal meant for nationwide distribution," Malk notes, "in order to leave the reader with the impression that without outside help, things will not improve."

It was also announced at the rally that the section of the law on language had been prevented from being implemented in Russian-speaking work collectives. "This is direct anarchy," Malk remarks, adding that it should be called anti-constitutional and the instigators taken to court. Demands were also made about housing allocation and for the state flag to be rehoisted atop the Pikk Hermann tower. However, Malk concludes, demands will not advance matters.

### Draft Laws Questioned

*PM1603140789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*16 Mar 89 Second Edition p 8*

[Special correspondents A. Petrushov and V. Shirokov report: "Rally in Tallinn"]

[Text] Tallinn—A republic-wide rally dedicated to the consolidation of the forces advocating restructuring and international unity among the working people of all nationalities was held in the Estonian capital 14 March. Tens of thousands of workers and representatives of the scientific, technical, and creative intelligentsia, and the public of Tallinn and other cities took part in the rally.

The speakers expressed concern at the increase in tension in interethnic relations provoked by the actions of some nationalistic and chauvinistic groups. The participants resolutely supported the process of restructuring and democratization in Estonia and its socialist path of development within the Soviet Union. They unanimously condemned manifestations of political adventurism and instances of the kindling of interethnic dissension and expressed their understanding and respect for the national feelings of the Estonian people and their desire to be masters of their own destiny. At the same time they posed the question concerning the fact that the population of Estonia can only be consolidated through complete equality of rights and mutual respect. In particular, reference was made to certain draft laws that were hastily adopted and are now being elaborated, which flout the rights of the non-Estonian-speaking [inoyazichnyy] population.

## Estonia's Valjas on Foreign Policy Meeting

*LD1603120189 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 14 Mar 89*

["Echo of the Day" program; Juhan Virkus report from Moscow]

[Excerpts] Today, here in Moscow, a session of the Foreign Policy Commission of CPSU Central Committee was held. As a member of the commission, Vaino Valjas, first secretary of Estonia's Communist Party Central Committee took part. How did the talks progress?

[Begin Valjas recording] First, perhaps an explanation of why I am here—despite the tense political situation—and not in the republic. Was the commisison session so important? Yes, it was. Second, I have complete confidence in the fact that the people of Estonia will listen to the voice of reason, will demonstrate their (?readiness) for balance and will at the same time demonstrate self-dignity. [passage omitted]

Today's CPSU Central Committee Foreign Policy Commission session called in particular on all union republics to participate in the working out of the fundamental positions of the USSR foreign policy. And in this context the activity of the party Central Committee of our republic, of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and of the Estonian Government met with a positive response: Our information in respect of the wide specter [words indistinct] we have been developing international contacts, how we have been explaining the progress of restructuring in Soviet Estonia, demonstrating it within the overall context of the restructuring process in the USSR, not fearing that we may meet with disagreement by our negotiating partners. In foreign policy we have always been front-ranking, namely in this respect that despite the different political outlooks in our negotiating partners, we have always made contact with anyone. It is infantile to think that, even if from time to time they meet with incorrect reporting, as was done recently in a PRAVDA article, when (Yuriy Zhukov) incorrectly viewed contacts made with a Europarliament working group. [sentence as heard]

In my foreign policy activity I have had to meet many different people, defending the fundamental positions of USSR foreign policy; we have always done this. We did this also with the Europarliament working group when we clearly explained our position. Such an interpretation as was produced in the article is incorrect. It would mean that we would have been as if in some defensive position over foreign policy questions, but why should we fear voicing our ideas directly, to debate? Our skills, wisdom, and power of persuasion already show who is stronger and whose ideas are stronger. To turn one's back and shyly bypass these issues is the politics of the past, and one cannot approve of this. [end recording]

## Speakers Support Latvian People's Front 12 Mar

*LD1603154189 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2130 GMT 15 Mar 89*

[From the "Amber Coast" program presented by Janus Urdis]

[Text] Here are some excerpts of the speeches given at the meeting at Daugamala on Sunday [12 March]. Here is Janis Peters, head of Latvia's Union of Writers, member of the board of the Council of the Latvian People's Front.

[Begin Peters recording] We have gathered not to deny anybody else, but to affirm ourselves and to affirm the stance of our political culture and our trust in the ideals of restructuring. Our protest is against the threats already during the first stage of democratization.

Our aim is neither to challenge nor to humiliate, nor to slander anyone.

The task of the people's movement, differently from the task of the bureacratic movement, is not aggression, but human dignity and the nation's honor; the territory's inviolability, the international rights—which have just now been signed also by the USSR Government, putting the signature of the minister of foreign affairs under the final document of the Vienna conference. [as heard]

In this dramatic period, when the fate of restructuring is being decided upon, I appeal to every participant in the people's movement to be vigilant and not to yield to cheap passion and provocations. Every erroneous step on our part leads to confrontation and does not allow us to rise above the tragicomic manifestations of the bureaucratic movement. [applause and calls of approval] [end recording]

Ivars Kezbers, secretary of the Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee:

[Begin Kezbers recording] In the present day we must realize that not a people against a people, but the people of Latvia against Stalinism, against new-Stalinism—this must be our slogan, and this must inspire our further deeds.

Here in front of me there is a big slogan—party, whom are you with? I must be asked the question first. This is a question to all Communists of Latvia. The answer is with the people because otherwise the Communist Party of Latvia cannot exist and cannot be. [applause and some calls of approval]

Our nearest tasks—I think that we have clearly and loudly declared them. The Latvian language to be the state language, the only state language in our republic. [applause and approving calls]

We must clearly and honestly formulate the status of a citizen of Latvia in our republic. We must convene a session of the supreme soviet, not delaying the convening of this session. Today may all of us who have gathered here remember that we are with you; either we will live or else we will perish. There is only one restructuring and its is common [to all]. Thank you. [applause and approving calls] [end recording]

Here is Raimonds Pauls, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee of Culture:

[Begin Pauls recording] Today, however, I no longer understand, how has all this happened, that at the very beginning of the road the ideals of rebirth are already threatened?

Why must I once more convince some still anonymous opponents of restructuring of the necessity to continue the work which was begun so well?

Do the party and government not see our will and resolve not to permit a discontinuation of the process of democratization and revival here in Latvia? Then, why do they not take action?

How are we to understand that the people itself must undertake the defense of the new times?

Why must I agitate somebody for an obvious necessity of rebirth of culture and prove that the Latvian language is the principal bearer of our culture? Why must I prove that through the language, culture and art we are tending the awareness of our ethnical community, are affirming the idea of a nation?

Is it normal that the leaders of the committee of culture or of the creative unions must still convince high rank leadership in Riga and in the republic that culture does not belong either to them or officials, or departments, but to the entire people? [shouts of approval and applause] [end recording]

At the meeting of Sunday representatives of various peoples living in Latvia spoke, including chairman of the Society of Culture of Russians of Latvia, Doctor Vladimir Voytsekhovskiy:

[Begin Voytsekhovskiy recording in Russian, fading into Latvian translation] We support, in entirety, the program of the People's Front of Latvia. We believe that the Latvian language must be the state language in Latvia. We believe that Latvia is the only place in the world where the Latvian people, the Latvian nation is able to develop independently, with full rights.

We support all restructuring and democratic forces in the republic and outside its borders. Only under the conditions of true democracy and freedom is the culture of the people able to truly develop. But a people without a culture is nothing, says the chairman of the Society of Culture of Russians of Latvia. [end recording]

## Polluted Cargo in Black Sea To Be Returned

*PM1003151189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1*

[TASS observer L. Yermakova report under the rubric "We Follow an Event": "Mysterious Cargo on Board Motorship in Neutral Black Sea Waters"]

[Text] Like the mythical "Flying Dutchman" condemned to roam the ocean, for several months now the motorship "Petersberg" has been unable either to enter its port of destination or to return home. Passions are continuing to seethe over the mysterious ship, but, as I was assured at the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, without its permission no action involving the freight will be carried out.

...Last May the West German dry freighter loaded construction waste in Vienna and sailed down the Danube into the Black Sea in order to continue its voyage through the Bosporus. However, its path was "crossed" by reports from "greens," who informed the countries on the motorship's route that there was a dangerous and possibly radioactive cargo in its hold. The Turkish authorities closed the Bosporus to it, while the Romanian authorities closed its way back through the Danube's Sulina arm. The "Petersberg" was trapped.

Since then it has been sailing the Black Sea, turning up now off the Turkish coast, now off the Soviet coast. On one visit the crew asked for assistance. With the permission of the FRG Embassy port workers of the Soviet Danube Shipping Company carried out repairs. The dry freighter is now in neutral waters in the region of Zmeinyy Island, more than 12 miles from Ust-Dunaysk.

A complex situation is taking shape. The stocks of food, water, and fuel ran out long ago. The sailors were putting in on the Turkish coast, evidently to replenish them. The Soviet "Inflot" agency has now taken over these concerns.

Soviet specialists have been on board to inspect the freight. It really was construction waste—sand, gravel, broken bricks. Freight samples were sent to the Kiev Institute of General and Municipal Hygiene. No radioactive substances were detected. But an increased content of certain heavy metals was recorded. The conclusion was reached that the rubble could not be used for agricultural or urban development purposes but could be buried on an industrial waste site.

However, inhabitants of several countries, including those of Soviet Danube-side population centers, are concerned. They are suspicious as to why construction

waste, if it is ordinary waste, had to be taken so far away. There is a version according to which the earth was taken from the site of a destroyed chemical plant.

To obtain a definite answer an Austrian firm has taken a sample for analysis to establish the degree of pollution. It also has to be established whether the earth in the hold really is from that Vienna site and has not been replaced during the motorship's wanderings. An aircraft flew in from Vienna 30 January, and 100 kg of earth taken by probes from various points and various depths was put on board. There are 1,176 tonnes in all on board the ship. There is as yet no report on the results of the analysis.

Depending on these results, V. Rumyantsev, chief specialist of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, says, two possible further actions are proposed. If the freight is harmful, the ship will be sent back to Austria. But the matter is complicated by the fact that the water level in the Danube has now dropped. It will be necessary to wait until it rises, which could be a long time. If the earth is normal, some of it will be transferred under the strict control of nature conservation organs onto shallow-draft barges which will take it back.

The State Committee for Nature Conservation recently received a radio message from Vilkov in which the residents categorically object to open transfer of the freight. Incensed by rumors, Ust-Dunaysk dock workers are refusing to participate in this operation. But events should not be dramatized in advance. If the analysis confirms that the earth is contaminated, it will not be transferred. Incidentally, a watch is being kept on the ship to ensure that the freight is not dumped.

### Correction to Lithuanian Party Secretary Interview

*LD1603230789*

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Interview With Lithuanian Party First Secretary," published in the 13 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 68, column two: Make sourceline read: "Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 24 Feb 89" (correcting month)

## Economic

### Interview With Latvian Gosplan Chairman

*PM1603141989 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, Mar 89 (Signed to Press 9 Mar 89) pp 9-10*

[Interview with M.L. Raman, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Gosplan, by correspondent P. Antropov under the rubric "Regional Economic Accountability": "On the Way to Harmony"; date, place not given; first two paragraphs are EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] The idea of transferring republics and regions to economic accountability was approved at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Just 7 months have passed since then, but developments by scientists and practical workers are already beginning to take on real outlines. The general principles of restructuring leadership of the economy and of the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of self-management and self-financing have, in the main, been formulated. Preparations to transfer the national economy to the new methods of management have already begun in a number of republics.

Latvian economists are actively carrying out this work. It is being directed by a special government commission headed by M.L. Raman, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Gosplan. Our correspondentasked him to comment on what has been done and on the plans for switching to the new model of the republic's socioeconomic development.

[Antropov] Miyervald Leonidovich, as far as we know, you were a member of the commission which formulated the draft general principles of regions' self-management and self-financing. Please describe how that work went.

[Raman] I wish first of all to note the new approaches to drawing up all-union documents. Previously they were usually prepared by specialists at the center and were then sent out to the republics for agreement. Our amendments were frequently ignored. This time everything was different: Representatives of all the republics were involved in drawing up the general principles right from the start. It was, if you like, a kind of brainstorming aimed at resolving a complex task in which scientists, including ones from the USSR Academy of Sciences, participated along with economists and practical workers.

When we were given the task last November of drawing up proposals on these problems for the government within 1 month, I did not think we could manage it: Time was short, and very little groundwork had been done. Usually 1 year is spent on such work, on all kinds of coordination, but in this case we had 1 month. But we were all released from our main job, good creative conditions were created for us, and at the end of the year we were able to hand over the fruits of our labor for examination to the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, which mainly agreed with our conclusions.

[Antropov] All new things are said to have an anguished birth. And many disputes probably arose when the new principles of regional management were being drawn up, did they not?

[Raman] They sure did! And it was not just a matter of different characters and temperaments. There was a clash of different opinions and different approaches both to the very idea of regional economic accountability and to the principles for realizing it.

Sometimes we argued very heatedly, tried to make each other and the experts change their minds, and sought solutions which would make the center strong and all the

republics strong, as it were. Ten versions of the draft of this document were drawn up until one was found which all the commission members approved of for the most part .

[Antropov] Over which questions were there the most arguments?

[Raman] The most heated arguments were probably over ownership and its subordination, so to speak. We proposed transferring all natural resources, industrial enterprises, banks, and projects of the social and production infrastructure to republic ownership. What brought this about? Above all, the desire to overcome man's apparent alienation from the tools and objects of labor. You feel simply sick at heart when you see how people take a nonproprietorial attitude toward them and the extent to which their feeling of being the master has been weakened. Therefore it seemed that things would go considerably better if workers become assiduous masters in the plants, and peasants on the land. Proceeding from this premise, it was proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet should delegate in the people's name the corresponding rights to the republic Supreme Soviet, and the latter to local soviets.

The soviet in turn transfers to the labor collective or peasant, in accordance with a contract, the rights to own and use a plant, land, or other property.

Our opponents tried to demonstrate that this will weaken the status of ownership by the whole people (the state) enshrined in the Constitution and that there are real fears that union diktat will be replaced by no less rigid local diktat. As a result, enterprises and labor collectives will not gain the independence granted them by the Law on the State Enterprise, which they particularly need for the success of the economic reform.

We endeavored to find approaches to national economic management which would make it possible to overcome the monopoly of ministries, departments, and enterprises and place regional factors at the service of the economy.

We also recalled a territorial form of industrial management—the national economic councils, which contained much that was useful. They made it possible to avoid long-haul transport operations and created a very effective obstacle to the sectors' diktat. Under that system of management the enterprises of a republic or other large economic region had more opportunities to create unions or associations with nondepartmental status.

After long discussion we reached the conclusion that at the first stage of realizing the principles of self-management and self-financing—in order to broaden the republics' independence—it is expedient to transfer to their jurisdiction enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex, light industry, construction, the construction materials industry, trade, and the timber and woodworking industry, as well as, under certain conditions, enterprises of union subordination in other sectors specializing in consumer goods production. In addition, it was proposed to grant union republics the right also to exercise control over the unified state stock of natural resources on their own territory.

It is our common opinion that the leadership of production infrastructure projects of regional significance and intersector production facilities must be concentrated in republic and local organs. It is proposed to transfer enterprises and organizations in housing and municipal services, consumer services, local transport, health care, and education and other establishments that serve the population to the direct jurisdiction of regions.

At this stage of the economic reform it is proposed to maintain at union level the leadership of enterprises in the fuel and energy complex, metallurgy, machine building, of defense sectors, and of all-union rail, sea, air, and pipeline transport, computer, and communications systems.

According to our rough estimates, following the implementation of the new principles, approximately 60 percent of the total volume of industrial production will be concentrated within the jurisdiction of Latvia, for example. Only 1 year ago this indicator stood at just 7 percent. These ratios will obviously be different in other republics.

In my view, the most promising direction in the organization of economic activity on the republic's territory must be the reorganization also of the basic production link by creating enterprises with nondepartmental status, unique concerns, interrepublic and intersector associations, joint ventures with foreign firms, consortiums, associations of enterprises, and other progressive forms of production organization.

[Antropov] Please comment on other principles of restructuring leadership of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics.

[Raman] This is quite complex. I would, in fact, have to retell the whole document. It contains approximately 40 pages and believe you me, no lyricism. I will touch on just the main points. I have partly outlined the division of spheres of influence between the center and the republics. I consider the new principles for forming the republic budget to be equally important. The budget used to be made up of proposed expenditure and the necessary funds, even including state grants, were then sought to cover it. After the switch to self-financing it is proposed to form the budgets of republics, cities, and rayons proceeding from the volume of funds earned by a particular region. Subsidies may also be used at the initial stage.

It is planned to include in the union republics' budget revenue payments from the profits or income of enterprises under their jurisdiction—with the exception of the part transferred to the union budget—the sum total of the payment for land, water, and labor resources, state taxes on the population, all local taxes and dues, and export income. Payments from the profits of union enterprises will also be included in the budget in a firmly fixed proportion that is the same for all the union republics and is laid down for a long period by the USSR Supreme Soviet. We also discussed the question of including part of the turnover tax in the republic's income.

The draft enshrines the thesis that the union republic independently draws up and implements its own budget, reflects the corresponding budget rights (rates, normatives, taxes), and stipulates the use of such important levers as price and credit. True, the mechanisms of these elements' interaction in the republic's financial system have not yet been worked out in detail. They still have to be formulated.

In my view, all-state regulation in these matters must be minimal—which will make it possible to make fuller use of the regional factors which the republics' self-management and self-financing are aimed at revealing.

This independence in the sphere of capital construction, for example, will make it possible to form one's own republic construction norms and regulations and other normative documents and will be a quite powerful means of enhancing the efficiency of the region's development. Construction workers will think about how to build more, not how to assimilate more funds. We will create conditions for competitive selection of planning and construction firms.

Self-management and self-financing are intended to enhance the efficiency of other sectors of the national economy too. And the new multichannel procedure for forming budgets will make it possible to increase the interest of both the region and the center in the development of enterprises regardless of which department they belong to.

To assess the new principles of management as a whole, they are intended to overcome wage leveling on a regional scale.

[Antropov] By decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo it is planned to submit the draft general principles for broad discussion. This will make it possible to enrich it with new ideas....

[Raman] Undoubtedly. I believe it will be right if after the discussion the general principles are reinforced by a law of similar substance. This in turn must be linked with the existing Laws on the State Enterprise and Cooperatives, as well as with the law on local self-management and the local economy, which is being drafted, and a number of other legislative acts.

At the same time I think that they will have to be altered and amplified somewhat so as to secure a harmonious and integral system of laws ensuring the legal basis of regional economic accountability.

It is also true that the general principles are still only the first stage in formulating a scientifically substantiated concept of republic economic accountability. Many other questions and points need more profound elaboration both at the center and locally.

[Antropov] What is to be done? Should we wait for the adoption of new laws or show initiative on the basis of the principles of regions' self-management and self-financing which have already been formulated?

[Raman] We argued quite a lot over this point, too. Representatives of a number of republics expressed the opinion that there is no point in hurrying, for there are almost 2 years to go until the start of the 13th 5-Year Plan. But I am sure that we must not postpone the introduction of more efficient forms of management. It is necessary right now to lay the foundations of the republic model of economic accountability and gain experience. New economic normatives, new economic mechanisms, and other innovations creating regional development factors will be needed to realize the new principles of management locally. And there is room in their elaboration for a creative quest by every republic's scientists and economic planners.

[Antropov] What measures have already been taken in Latvia to resolve this task?

[Raman] A special government commission has been set up to coordinate work connected with the republic's switch to self-management and self-financing. A competition has been held to draw up the optimum model of republic economic accountability, and its improvement is continuing.

Active study of the formulated principles of self-management and self-financing is under way at the republic intersector institute for raising qualifications.

At the end of January our Council of Ministers adopted a special resolution outlining a number of other priority measures to switch the Latvian SSR to new methods of management. Thus, the republic Ministry of Finance has been entrusted with defining in the first quarter a new procedure for drawing up local soviets' budgets, proceeding from the premise that their size will depend on the financial and economic activities of the enterprises and organizations located on their territory.

The Gosplan and the Ministry of Finance have been entrusted with drawing up by the beginning of May initial data for planning for 1990 and draft rates of payments and normatives and with informing republic ministries and departments, rayispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and enterprises of union subordination of them.

In the first half of the year the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences and the republic State Committee for Nature Conservation, jointly with other interested departments, are to elaborate a system of differentiated payment for natural resources.

Every rayon, city, ministry, and department in the Latvian SSR is entrusted with analyzing the economic situation in the present, base year, calculating all the financial resources produced and also expended in a particular region, and amplifying the procedure for forming and moving them. A careful analysis has to be made of the volumes of the material and technical resources delivered to the republic and of the output sent outside it.

These and other measures are aimed at ensuring the elaboration of the economic and social development plan and the draft budget of the Latvian SSR and the republic's rayons and cities for 1990, proceeding from the general principles of restructuring leadership of the economy and the social sphere on the basis of self-management and self-financing, and, moreover, in a new way—from bottom to top.

[Antropov] What, in your view as a member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, must party committees and organizations do to accelerate this work?

[Raman] You will agree that for things to succeed it is not enough to change the system of management. It is also necessary to change the way of thinking and to awaken in people the sense of being the master not only of their own enterprise but also of the republic and the country. There is a wealth of ideological, party political, and organizational work to be done here. I judge on last year's results. Owing to the failure to fulfill a number of targets in agriculture, industry, and construction, we had a shortfall of approximately R100 million in national revenue. Under the old method of forming the budget the republic's working people hardly noticed that loss. When we go over to self-financing, such a deficit will hit hard at the implementation of many social programs.

People on the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee are well aware of the complexity of the upcoming restructuring of management methods and actively support the economists' initiatives. These questions were examined at a session of the Central Committee Commission on Socioeconomic Matters. At the end of February the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau heard a Gosplan report on the work done to switch the republic to self-management and self-financing and outlined a number of measures to improve it. Riga party gorkom will give a similar report in April, and then the republic Gosstroy.

Party organizations are becoming increasingly clearly aware that even the most sophisticated management system is not a panacea for all ills and will not work of its own accord. It is only an instrument. And a very great deal depends on who uses it and how.

Not everything is simple in the introduction of new management methods. This work will be held up by many old habits, mismanagement, and social freeloading. But at the present stage of the economic reform the republic's self-management and self-financing promise a considerable social benefit. And when people see real changes for the better, they will certainly have a stronger desire to manage things in the new way and they will advance the economic reform more efficiently.

## Agricultural

### Mild Winter Means Resowing in Stavropol Kray

*PM1603155789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 First Edition p 1*

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "Sowing on Areas Already Sown"]

[Text] Stavropol—The early spring aroused the winter crops—Stavropol's main grain crop—earlier than usual. You would think that after such a frost-free and mild winter as this one, the grain growers would be pleased. However, they greeted the spring warmth with some concern.

"A vast area of more than 200,000 hectares of winter crops needs a 'major overhaul,' so to speak—supplementary sowing and even complete resowing," your TASS correspondent was told at the kray's agro-industrial committee.

"The question was, what do we use in the seed drills? Farms in the Orenburg region and Saratov and Voronezh Oblasts came to our aid, providing spring barley seeds," he was told additionally at the "Stavropolkhlebprodukty" administration.

The Stavropol region is a unique grain producer, one of the few in the country growing strong and valuable strains of wheat known for their enhanced baking qualities. There is a particular demand in the country for food grain. Among the specialists at the "Niva Stavropolya" Science and Production Association there are even those who say that not only should the wheat crop not be reduced but, on the contrary, it should be expanded. It is proposed to compensate for the need for feed grain by bringing grain into the kray from elsewhere—by exchanging food grain for mixed feed. Perhaps this is a promising solution, perhaps not. Given the

unique nature of the crop-producing lands, achieving the optimum division of the grain fields between food and feed is a precise art. The casual approach is disastrous. The approach must be comprehensive—involving the best minds and a study of all the possible options.

It is worth repeating here that virtually every spring thousands of tonnes of seeds are brought into the Stavropol region from elsewhere. There is no need to prove that in terms of yield these seeds do not compare with regional specialized ones. There has long been an urgent need to create an independent reserve stock of barley seeds in the region. But paradoxically, it is more profitable to scrounge for them than to produce your own.

In the immediate future the Stavropol farmers plan to increase grain production to an average of 5.2-5.5 million tonnes a year. Previously this target was not achieved in either good weather seasons or bad. It is all the more important and urgent to develop a comprehensive program for ending a truly bad tradition—eliminating the expense that has to be borne each spring of the "major overhaul" of such a substantial area of plowland sown to winter crops.

## Scientific

### 'Cosmos-2006' Satellite Launched 16 March

*LD1703080389 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 17 Mar 89*

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—The Soviet Union launched another satellite in the Cosmos series on Thursday. [16 March]

Cosmos-2006 carries scientific equipment to continue outer space exploration.

It was delivered by a Soyuz booster to an orbit with the following parametres:

Initial period of revolution—90.8 minutes,

Maximum distance from Earth (apogee)—402 kilometres,

Minimum distance (perigee)—249 kilometres,

Inclination—62.9 degrees.

The satellite also carries a radio system for the precision measuring of the orbit's parametres and a radiotelemetry system for beaming data on the operation of the instruments and scientific equipment back to earth.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

### 'Progress-41' Cargo Spacecraft Launched 16 March

*LD1603214489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2110 GMT 16 Mar 89*

[Text] [No dateline as received] In accordance with the program for further work of the "Mir" scientific research complex, the automatic cargo ship "Progress-41" was launched at 2154 Moscow time [1845 GMT] on 16 March, 1989 in the Soviet Union.

The aim of the launch is to replenish materials and various cargo on the manned "Mir" complex that are being used up.

The "Progress-41" ship has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

Maximum distance from the surface of the earth: 260 km
Minimum distance from the surface of the earth: 193 km
Period of revolution: 88.7 minutes
Orbital inclination: 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information data, the onboard systems of the automatic cargo ship are working normally.

### 'Moskva-Globalnaya' Super-Antenna Introduced

*OW1703013389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0615 GMT 10 Mar 89*

[From the "Science—Theory, Experiment, Practice" program]

[Text] This new super-antenna is capable of transmitting images to the most remote spot on earth. This new project has been developed and created at the Radio Scientific and Production Association of the USSR Ministry of Communication. So far, we managed to only transmit the "Vremya" program to the world. However, Soviet missions and journalists accredited abroad will presently be able to watch all Moscow television programs. Thus, television will reach people who have been separated for a period of time from the surroundings to which they are accustomed and help them keep in touch with the political and social life of the country.

This is not the only use for the global antenna. It will also secure business information transmission and reportage to Moscow. This process will be carried out automatically and without employing the usual communication relays which require expensive cable channels. Scores of these antennae will be manufactured by the Promsvyaz [Industrial Communication] collective in accordance with an order placed by the Telegraph Agency and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Video shows an antenna, then cuts to show interview with A.I. Kushtuyev, first deputy general director of Radio Scientific and Production Association of the USSR Ministry of Communication; and L. Ya. Kantor, doctor of technical sciences; and the map showing coverage of the system's two satellites]

[Begin recording] [Kushtuyev] Interest in our television is growing. The Moskva-Globalnaya is a new system which answers the needs of this interest. By using two beams—you can see here the zones of the the globe covered by the Moskva-Globalnaya television transmission—transmission can be carried out to all inhabitants of the globe.

[Kantor] This station operates through the usual Soviet geostationary satellite of the Gorizont type located at 11 degrees west over the Atlantic. The second satellite is over the Indian Ocean. This station near which we are standing is now receiving real satellite signals.

[Kushtuyev] This system allows us not only to transmit television programs, but also to establish both information and radio broadcasting channels. This may also be of interest to our television viewers and radio listeners as well as to various companies that may use information channels for commercial purposes.

[Kantor] The Moskva-Globalnaya system and the station we had to make for this system are known for their very high characteristics due to a very large coverage zone and a relatively weak signal. We had to make a very sensitive station, a very good, highly sensitive antenna with high surface utilization, and a very high selectivity factor in relation to atmospherics. This is very important in this case because the geostationary orbit is used by a very large number of satellites. Besides, the antenna is capable of following slight satellite movements. Although they are meant to be stationary, the system is equipped with instruments which ensure automatic tracking of the satellite. As for the technical peculiarities of the station, one should mention the special system for processing television signals which allows the signal-to-atmospherics ratio to improve its quality.

[Kushtuyev] It also answers the requirements of various viewers abroad, in respect of receiving speedy information about the Soviet Union. [video shows radio equipment of the station] [end recording]

## Discharges Upset Radionuclide Balances

*PM1603125189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3*

[Article by Physicist Engineer M. Bragin, member of the Power Industry Commission of the Public Committee To Save the Volga, under the general heading "One Half of the Truth. Nuclear Power on a Great River"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

### Expert's Opinion

[Passage omitted] The nuclear power industry has been upsetting the natural balance of radionuclides throughout the planet at a tremendous rate. All the tritium, krypton-85, and iodine-129 formed in nuclear reactors are released in full into the biosphere without any insulation. It is well known that all nuclear reactor radionuclides also occur naturally in the biosphere and exist in a certain equilibrium there. If we compare the following values we discover that in a single year the country's nuclear power industry releases into the biosphere 3.5 times more tritium than is contained in the earth's entire atmosphere and twice as much as is contained in all the rivers on all the continents, and 500,000 times more krypton-85 than is contained in the earth's entire atmosphere.

If those radionuclides have a great effect on the whole biosphere, that effect is even more significant at a local level. For example, the amount of tritium released by all the AES's in the European part of the country in 1 year is many times greater than the amount of tritium contained in the waters of the Volga in the same period. The concentration of tritium in coolant reservoirs may increase far faster than in natural water. I have cited these three radionuclides just as an example, and one has to add to them dozens of other long-active radionuclides which accumulate in the environment.

I am deliberately not comparing the releases of radionuclides with the radiation safety norms. Those norms set the maximum permissible dose from which all the remaining indicators are derived. I shall quote the current norms: "The maximum permissible dose is the greatest value of an individual equivalent dose in 1 year which, given uniform exposure over 50 years, causes no unfavorable changes detectable by modern methods in the health of personnel." But it cannot be claimed that in 50 years there will be no unfavorable changes at the margin of modern methods of detection when that much time has not elapsed since radiobiological studies of the products of uranium fission began. And in fact experiments have shown that even if the existing tritium norms are observed, considerable biological disruptions occur. An increased incidence of sickness has been recorded in Kiev since the Chernobyl tragedy and more serious forms of sickness are occurring. Yet according to the official assessments, the people of Kiev received considerably less than the maximum permissible dose.

During nuclear weapons' tests the biosphere was contaminated with vast quantities of different radionuclides. The harmful consequences of this contamination, particularly the genetic consequences, are not all known. It was this factor which made it necessary to try to stop all nuclear tests. But the USSR's modern nuclear power industry releases into the biosphere each year as much krypton-85 and iodine-129 as all the nuclear tests conducted in the atmosphere between 1945 and 1980.

I believe therefore that a public environmental commission should be created to conduct a feasibility study not only of the Kostroma AES and Yaroslavl nuclear heat-supply plant but also of the country's entire nuclear power industry. This must be done without delay.

### Nuclear Icebreaker 'Vaygach' Arrives in Leningrad

*PM1603151489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: " 'Vaygach' in the Neva Harbor"]

[Text] Leningrad, 14 Mar—Three mighty nuclear icebreakers stand at the completion wharf at the S. Ordzhonikidze Baltiyskiy Plant—the first time such an impressive flotilla has gathered in the enterprise's waters.

The ships "Taymyr" and "Sovetskiy Soyuz" have been joined here by the new polar knight "Vaygach." It arrived in Leningrad from Helsinki, and now the Baltiyskiy workers will complete its construction. The first stage of the work was done by the Finnish firm Wartsila.

The shipwrights of the two neighboring countries are now building their second nuclear-powered ship by joint efforts, on the principles of the international division of labor. The first, the "Taymyr," will leave the Neva Harbor this summer and set a course for high latitudes. The shipbuilders from Finland—the land of a thousand lakes—carried out a large volume of hull operations, fitted out all the ship's installations, and installed auxiliary equipment and navigational instruments.

It took the Baltiyskiy workers just over a year to do the complex work of installing the nuclear "heart." Now it is the "Vaygach's" turn: Together with its elder "brother," it is also intended to operate in the shallow water sections of the Arctic, in particular in the estuaries of the biggest Siberian rivers. Several shallow-draft diesel icebreakers are working here at present. But often they are unable to break a path through thick ice for transport ships.

## Military

### Kochetov Attends Kiev Military District Meeting

*PM1603145789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 First Edition p 1*

[Correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov report: "Kiev Military District 70 Years Old"]

[Text] Kiev Military District, which was formed in the grim year of 1919 to defend the revolution's gain, was made famous by the combat deeds of the Red Cossack Corps, the 25th Chapayev Division, and many other units.

Continuing those glorious revolutionary and combat traditions, the district's personnel are now making a substantial contribution to strengthening our state's defense capability. More than 50,000 of its military servicemen performed their internationalist duty in Afghanistan, over 100,000 took part in clearing up the aftermath of the Chernobyl AES accident, and 5,000 gave help to the people of Armenia.

Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, greeted the district's servicemen at a ceremonial meeting. A report was delivered by Lieutenant General B.V. Gromov, commander of the district.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the meeting.

### Lizichev Book on Military Restructuring Reviewed

*PM1603151789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 First Edition p2*

[Book review by Colonel General V. Rodin under the rubric "New Books": "Time of Action"]

[Text] "Path of Change, Time of Action" [A. D. Lizichev. Put Peremen, Vremya Deystviy. Moscow. Military Literature Publishing House. 1989. 352 pages. Price R1.20]—this is the title of a book by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, published by the Military Literature Publishing House. To briefly summarize its contents, it consists of reflections on the restructuring of party-political work within the Soviet Armed Forces. Reflections which do not claim to be the ultimate truth and which are based on a thorough, comprehensive study of the activity of military cadres, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations over an important period of time—from the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) plenum to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the present day.

This path, as the author shows, has not been simple or easy. Restructuring processes in the Army and Navy do not always run smoothly, are sometimes painful, and proceed amidst an avid struggle between the old and the new. Many of the mechanisms of renewal are still in the formative stages, while the optimum options are being sought, which naturally affects the activity of the command-political staff and party and Komsomol organizations.

From this point of view, the author's study of the key methodological problems of party-political backup for restructuring in the conditions of the Armed Forces has particular significance. The book points military cadres and political and party bodies in the direction of strictly scientific approaches to the solution of the diverse tasks of defense building and reveals ways and methods of reorienting it toward qualitative parameters. The avid reader will find the answers to many of the questions raised by real life.

A separate chapter of the book is devoted to the activity of senior political organs—the political directorates of the branches of the Armed Forces, military districts, fleets, and groups of forces. They have done a great deal to ensure that restructuring gathers momentum in the

Army and Navy. However, something else is also apparent. The hankering for administrative pressure methods of leadership and an inability to determine priorities and concentrate the main efforts on them are still taking their toll in everyday practice. How can the weak links be strengthened and a qualitatively new level be attained in political, party, and organizational work? The comprehensive analysis of these problems and the resulting conclusions offer good guidelines which will help people to avoid mistakes.

The author of the book devotes considerable attention to the questions of renewing the style and methods of activity of primary political organs and improving relations in the "political department-primary party organization" link. The book's recurrent theme is that only by mastering political methods of leadership can we successfully advance the task of restructuring and lead the masses.

Today, as never before, we are faced with the task of galvanizing life in primary party organizations and revealing their potential as the political core of the military collective as fully as possible. At the same time, it is often the case that primary organizations fail to keep pace with the prevailing moods and dynamic processes developing in the Army and Navy. Here, too, there are a great many problems. Serious, urgent problems.

In the book, the reader will meet the Army and Navy "foremen" of restructuring—the innovators who are ably solving these problems—and become acquainted with their firsthand experience.

Time has led us to understand that only through democratization and glasnost can we most fully activate the human factor and involve it in the far-reaching transformations of all aspects of life in the units and on the ships. The author of the book paints a broad canvas of the democratic processes taking place in the Army and Navy, shows how complex their development is, and warns command-political cadres against oversimplified approaches and typical errors in their leadership of these processes. Creating a situation in which people's initiative and creative potential are liberated and their active role enhanced in the solution of combat readiness tasks is one of the most important aspects of work by political organs and party organizations. There are special features and subtleties here which must be taken into consideration without fail and there is accumulated experience which should be taken into account. All this is reflected in detail in the separate chapter devoted to the problems of democratizing Army and Navy life.

Restructuring demands radical changes in the organization of ideological work. What should the priorities be? Which paths are preferable to take? It goes without saying that these matters are a source of concern today for many commanders, political workers, and the party and Komsomol aktiv. It is no accident that the author of the book devotes so much attention to them. He outlines the range of problems which, if left unresolved, will make it impossible to talk seriously of raising the intellectual level and renewing the content and forms of ideological and political education work or ensuring that it addresses the individual with his needs and concerns.

A lot of the book is devoted to the matters of fundamentally strengthening military discipline and eradicating ugly phenomena such as "bullying." This is a source of concern for the general public today. And this problem is not confined to the Armed Forces. Regarding nonregulation relations as a phenomenon peculiar to the Army is tantamount to deliberately oversimplifying the problem, as the author rightly points out.

It has far deeper roots. Young people often join military collectives already infected with those "ills" from which our society suffers. How to "cure" them is another subject frequently discussed in the book. The conclusion drawn is clear: Proper organization of political education and organizational work makes it possible to successfully combat negative phenomena. The author offers convincing evidence of this in specific examples.

It is worth noting that people are a major part of A.D. Lizichev's book: generals and officers, warrant officers and ensigns, sergeants and ranking NCOs, soldiers and seamen. In short, the book is about the people the author is constantly meeting while engaged in his diverse activities. Real human beings are the main heroes of the book. The author speaks very warmly of those commanders and political workers who live by restructuring, professionally solve every task, and are not afraid of taking justified risks and accepting the responsibility for nonstandard decisions.

The book "Path of Change, Time of Action" will undoubtedly be a good counsellor and assistant for everyone who is now involved in one way or another in resolving the problems of restructuring in the Army and Navy.

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